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Reviews of Books

General History

BIBLIOGRAFÍA HISTÓRICA DE ESPAÑA E HISPANOAMÉRICA, I, by C. J. Bishko	353
Kochan, ACTON ON HISTORY; Malin, ON THE NATURE OF HISTORY, by John C. Cairns	354
Krey, HISTORY AND THE SOCIAL WEB, by Gray C. Boyce	356
Arciniegas, AMÉRIGO AND THE NEW WORLD, by Charles E. Nowell	357
Moody, CHURCH AND SOCIETY, by Peter Viereck	358
Wilson, THE HISTORY OF UNILEVER, by Abbott Payson Usher	359
Allen, GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES, by Carl F. Brand	361
Schwantes, JAPANESE AND AMERICANS, by Walter R. Fee	362
Mantoux, LES DÉLIBÉRATIONS DU CONSEIL DES QUATRE, by Charles Seymour	363
Fisher, SOCIAL FORCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST, by C. Ernest Dawn	365
FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1938, I, II, by Thomas P. Brockway	366
Toynbee and Toynbee, SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1939-46: THE REALIGNMENT OF EUROPE, by Sidney Ratner	368
Roskill, THE WAR AT SEA, 1939-45, I, by Roger Pineau	370

Ancient and Medieval History

Dentan, THE IDEA OF HISTORY IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST, by Nels M. Bailkey	371
Larsen, REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN GREEK AND ROMAN HISTORY, by C. Bradford Welles	372
Lewis and Reinhold, ROMAN CIVILIZATION: SELECTED READINGS, by Chester G. Starr	373
Setton, et al., A HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES, I, by Quirinus Breen	375
Mundy, et al., ESSAYS IN MEDIEVAL LIFE AND THOUGHT: PRESENTED IN HONOR OF AUSTIN PATTERSON EVANS, by A. C. Krey	377

(List of Reviews of Books continued on the inside back cover page)

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* * * * *Table of Contents* * * * *

Vol. LXI, No. 2

January, 1956

Presidential Address

WHATEVER WAS, WAS RIGHT

Lynn Thorndike

265

Articles

PATTERNS OF THOUGHT AND ACTION IN AN
AMERICAN DEPRESSION, 1882-1886

Samuel Rezneck

284

AFRIKANER NATIONALISM AND APARTHEID

Colin Rhys Lovell

308

Notes and Suggestions

HISTORY AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: THE PROBLEM
OF COMMUNICATIONS

Richard D. Challener and Maurice Lee, Jr.

331

SURVEY OF UNITED STATES HISTORIANS, 1952,
AND A FORECAST

J. F. Wellemeyer, Jr.

339

Reviews of Books

(See inside cover pages)

353

Other Recent Publications

429

Historical News

504

The Marshall Plan and Its Meaning

By Harry Bayard Price. Published under the auspices of the Governmental Affairs Institute. "The book is a must for students of overseas operations and historians. Actually, it is several books. One is the recreation of the world situation just before the plan. Another is the chronology of the plan and the outline of its operations in various countries. A third . . . includes the chapters on how the plan worked and why. The last, and most important, section is the summation of aims and techniques, the later emphasis on productivity and that important phase concerning European integration."—The Washington Post and Times Herald. "A full and clear account . . . of the program and an objective evaluation of its results."—New York Times.

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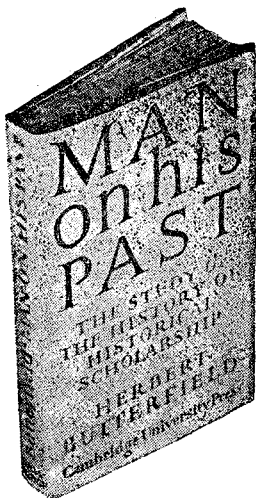
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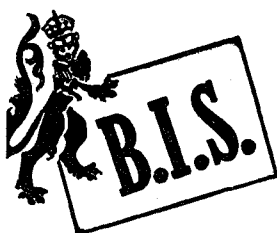
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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. LXI, No. 2

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Whatever Was, *Was* Right*

LYNN THORNDIKE

FOUR words will constitute the extremely paradoxical text of this evening's discourse, namely, Whatever was, *was* right. In the exposition of this text, look not for the rare jewel of consistency in this ugly head. The sense of these four words will be twisted first this way, and then that. As a typical New England farmer on Martha's Vineyard said many years ago, recounting his conversation with the summer visitor next door who had asked him if he skimmed his milk before delivering it: "'Yes,' I told her, 'first I skim it on one side, and then I turn it over and skim it on the other.'"

This text is, of course, a slight alteration of Alexander Pope's utterance of more than two centuries ago: "Whatever is, is right." This is a hard saying, especially if we attempt to apply it to our own age of world wars and cold wars, of economic and social and racial cleavage, when almost everyone, whether Democrat or Republican, employer or member of a trade union, Communist or libertarian, affirms that he is absolutely right, and that those who disagree with him are completely in the wrong, while some go so far as to insist that those who disagree with them, or with whom they disagree,

* Presidential address read at the annual dinner of the American Historical Association, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., December 29, 1955.

should be sent to forced labor camps, or dropped as security risks; that they are not for a moment longer to be entrusted with the education of the young, although they may have been so engaged without interference for most of their lifetime; and that they are plotting to overthrow the government by force.

Fortunately, it is not my intention this evening to attempt the difficult feat of justifying Pope's epigram in its application to the present. The concern of the historian is with the past, and therefore my text is, Whatever was, *was* right. If Pope could say in the age of Anne and the early Hanoverians, "Whatever is, is right," with some semblance to truth, the corollary, Whatever was then, was right then, would seem to possess equal validity.

This is not to maintain that the state of affairs and the stage of thought then were right according to our present standards and would be satisfactory today. It, of course, would not be possible or even thinkable now. But perhaps it was, if not absolutely and eternally right, about as nearly right as was at that time thinkable and possible.

It must be admitted, however, that the period immediately preceding the birth of Pope in 1688, the year of the Glorious—or, as it has recently been called, respectable Revolution,¹ when the existing government was overthrown by force or something closely approaching thereto, possessed certain features somewhat resembling those of our time. Witch-hunting, it is true, was then on its way out. But the scare as to the alleged Popish Plot, based upon the supposed revelations of the arch-informer, Titus Oates, sent a number of innocent persons to their death. Our fear that Soviet troops may sweep over western Europe is mild compared to the terror of a writer then who was convinced that, while the British navy might prevent the army of Louis XIV from crossing the channel, the pope at Rome had at his instant disposal infinite legions of demons who would have no difficulty in getting there by air.²

In 1685, under James II, came the "Bloody Assize," when "more than 300 were hanged, drawn, and quartered, and 800 more were transported. During the trials," we are told, "Jeffreys, who afterwards boasted that he had hanged more traitors than any of his predecessors since the Conquest, roared, swore, and joked at the trembling victims in a way that made his name a terror for years to come."³

England today is in a saner mood. When, in the summer of 1952, it was proposed by some that the House of Commons take action against the "red

¹ Lucile Pinkham, *William III and the Respectable Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954).

² See note 25 below.

³ Arthur L. Cross, *A History of England and Greater Britain* (New York, 1920), p. 569.

dean," The Church of England Newspaper protested strongly against any such political interference in ecclesiastical affairs, declared that Dr. Johnson's continued tenure of office was "a test of this nation's belief in freedom," and expressed the hope that there would never be anything in Britain so un-British as a Committee on un-British Activities.⁴

The historian at least does not have to confine his activities to American ones. He may commune (*cave verbum*) with the ancient civilizations of Egypt and Babylon, Greece and Rome, China and India, with paganism and Judaism and Islam, and with heresy within the Christian church. He may investigate the past of western Europe, and even that of Russia. As Ramus said in the sixteenth century of mathematics, after he had been forbidden to teach philosophy, "Here, at least, thought is free."

If Pope's dictum was concerned primarily with the order of the universe, Aristotle, more than two millennia before Pope, was equally optimistic as to mankind and society. In the first chapter of the *Politics* he said:

Every state is a community of some kind, and every community is established with a view to some good; for men always act in order to obtain what they think good. But if all communities aim at some good, the state or political organization, which is the highest of all and embraces all the others, aims, and in a greater degree than any other does, at the highest good.

The historian, therefore, should attend to and search after what was good and right in any past period. This is not new doctrine. We have often been told that we should study the past sympathetically. But I fear that we have not always done so. I will put the obligation rather strongly.

In questioning or rejecting a previous record of fact or expression of opinion, a later historian should not do so merely because he can see or discover no grounds for it. There must have been grounds for it, or it would not have been made. As Bishop Hurd wrote nearly two hundred years ago, in his *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*:

Nothing in human nature, my dear friend, is without its reason. The modes and fashions of different times may appear, at first sight, fantastic and unaccountable. But they, who look nearly into them, discover some latent cause of their production.⁵

The reasons which seemed adequate then may not be so according to present standards and science. But even if it wasn't really so, that does not obliterate

⁴ "In the United States the position is frightening," said the newspaper. "He who would speak freely must expect to be haled before a Committee on Un-American Activities. May the day never arrive when deans with unpopular opinions have to answer for them before so un-British an institution as a committee on Un-British activities." Quoted by the *Paris Herald Tribune*, Aug. 4, 1952.

⁵ *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (London, 1762), pp. 1-2.

the fact—for it also is a fact—that it was imaginatively so, or theoretically so, or psychically so, or morally so, or mythically so, or even erroneously so.

The pseudo-literature that clusters about a great name like that of Hermes Trismegistus or Aristotle or Bede or Albertus Magnus, or the alchemical corpus fathered upon Raymond Lull, may not be belittled or passed by on the other side. After all, someone wrote it, someone read it, someone preserved it. It remained associated with the famous name, and sometimes has a unity and a consistency which his genuine works scarcely possess. Was its ascription to him a mere accident? Should it be studied quite independently of and apart from him? At least, it should be studied and related to the thought and writing of its time or times. The *Herbarium* of the pseudo-Apuleius is as important in the annals of botany and of pictorial art, as the genuine *Metamorphoses* is in the history of literature, religion, and magic.

When Christopher Borri published his book on the three heavens—elemental, celestial, and empyrean—at Lisbon in 1631, he interpreted the new astronomical discoveries according to his own preconceived ideas and interests: belief in four elements, in the Biblical story of creation, and in the moving Intelligences of Aristotle transformed into Christian angels who moved the planets and stars, and who could extend the scope of their activity in two dimensions, but not in three, which power was reserved to God alone. This point he graphically illustrated by a figure of a seated angel which filled up most of a square, and another figure showing the same angel stretched out a great length within an oblique parallelogram of the same base and altitude, and consequently of the same area as the square.⁶

Such an association today seems incongruous, but at that time it may have aided the new astronomy more than it injured it. It was not the perusal of those of Huygens' works which announced great scientific discoveries that induced Archdeacon Plume to found the Plumian professorship of astronomy and experimental philosophy at the University of Cambridge, but the reading, which had been recommended to him by no less a personage than Flamsteed, the first astronomer royal, of what seems today the quite illogical and almost worthless *Cosmotheoros* or *The Celestial Worlds Discover'd, or Conjectures concerning the Inhabitants, Plants and Productions of the Worlds in the Planets*.⁷

The approach of the historian to the past should be neither that of hero worship nor debunking; neither the frame of mind of those believers in a past golden age who thought that the ancients knew everything and that man had since sadly degenerated, nor that of those who saw hope and hap-

⁶ Christophorus Borrius, *De tribus coelis aereo sidereo empyreo* (1631), p. 240.

⁷ Louis T. More, *Isaac Newton* (New York, 1934), p. 525.

piness only in a future existence beyond the grave, nor in more recent nostalgia for one's boyhood and horse-and-buggy days.⁸ Because whatever was, *was* right, is no proof that whatever is, is wrong. And while we may justly admire those *moderni* of the Middle Ages who ventured to criticize the ancients and to express views of their own, nevertheless the doctrine of modern progress does not constitute a sufficient and impeccable *leit motif* for the complicated current and crosscurrents of history.

Cournot, in his book on the course of ideas and of events in modern times,⁹ has wisely warned us against the self-assurance of certain thinkers who dismiss with disdain beliefs of which they fail to comprehend the deep roots in the heart of mankind and the soul of society.¹⁰

What should be especially avoided is the overbearing attitude that whatever was in the past, is wrong in these enlightened times of ours; that times past were motivated by cruelty, tyranny, ignorance, superstition, and bigotry; while our age is marked by humanity, liberty, science, and religious—not to mention other types of—toleration. Equally to be eschewed is the corollary that whatever is now was either unknown to, or disbelieved in, or regarded as being quite wrong, by those benighted centuries.

As Elias Ashmole wrote in the Prolegomena to his *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* of 1652: "And Posterity will pay us in our own Coyne, should we deride the behaviour and dresse of our Ancestors."¹¹

True it is that some things which were once regarded as wrong have come to be thought right, and that, conversely, some good old customs and once cherished ideas have been abandoned. The Turk is no longer characterized as unspeakable, while silence now prevails as to the woes of the Armenians, concerning which a previous generation was so extremely vocal, up to the culminating point when this country was asked to assume a mandate over Armenia at the close of the First World War.

If we judge the past by the yardstick of our present standards and by what is customary in our own experience, our verdict is liable to sudden reversal. For example, in the good old days of the Protestant Reformers and the Economic Revolution, saints' days went by the board. In England, the summer before last, the Sunday *Observer*, under the caption, "150 Years Ago," reprinted the following passage from its issue of August 19, 1804:

⁸ Such as may be found expressed in the London *Times* of July 23, 1954, for "carriages at eleven."

⁹ Antoine Augustin Cournot, *Considerations sur la marche des idées et des événements dans les temps modernes* (Paris, 1934), 2 vols.

¹⁰ "Il n'a pas la superbe de certains penseurs qui jugent avec dédain des croyances dont ils méconnaissent les racines profondes dans le cœur de l'homme et l'âme des sociétés." *Ibid.*, I, xix.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, leaf with the signature B (4) recto.

By a clause in the London Dock Warehouse Act lately passed, it appears that no other days than Sundays, Christmas days, Good Fridays, and Fastdays, are to be observed at the docks or warehouses as holidays. We trust that this excellent example will be generally adopted in our public offices, and that we shall shortly be relieved from most of the unmeaning holidays (the remnants of ignorance, superstition, and bigotry, and incentives to dissipation and idleness) by which our trade and commerce are at present embarrassed.

Even in relatively recent textbooks we were told, and heard with abhorrence, that in France in the fifteenth century there came to be as many as fifty religious holidays in a year. But today many workers take fifty-two Saturdays off per year, not to mention legal holidays and their vacation period, so that the fifteenth-century gildsmen now appear to have been overworked.

But this change in point of view and perspective seems proof that whatever is, is right, rather than that whatever was, was right.

Fluctuations in the prices of commodities and depreciation of the coinage, which are nowadays covered up by the pompous words "inflation" and "going off the gold standard," are other matters on which we may no longer point the finger of scorn at an uneconomic past. Probably there was as much reason for them then as now, or as little justification for them now as then.

Famines in the Middle Ages are another feature that seems to have been greatly exaggerated. It is very suspicious how the chroniclers of different times and places repeat the same stock account of a famine such as no living man could remember, of the poor dying in the streets, of bread made out of clay or dust instead of flour, and of mothers who are forced to eat their own children. At the same time the monks have enough on hand to feed several hundreds gratuitously, while some farmers and grain-dealers export their stocks where they can get more money for them, in seeming defiance of the law of supply and demand. At Basel in 1275 things came to such a pass that even the Dominicans had to eat rye bread.

Despite the fact that boys in medieval schools spent six or eight years on little else than the study of the Latin language and grammar, the notion became widespread since that time that medieval Latin was barbarous, incorrect, and ungrammatical.

Navigators in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries spread the report of the existence of a great continent to the south of Asia, Africa, and South America, and such a *terra firma* was often depicted upon early modern maps. But after the voyages of Cook in the Pacific in the eighteenth century, it was believed that its nonexistence had been demonstrated, or that at best it was meant to apply to Australia. Today polar expeditions have proved that there are large land masses toward the South Pole, and a continental Antarctica has reappeared upon our maps.

One is tempted to hazard the assertion that in the progress of civilization there has been no great gain without some corresponding loss—possibly even the further surmise that in periods of seeming decline there has been no great loss without some slight compensating gain. Ours is an age of speed and velocity; motor cars that can go 140 miles an hour, although speed limits may be much less than that, airplanes that land us in Los Angeles in time for lunch. But the morning mail and the Sunday newspaper are delivered later and later.

Moreover, one age excels in one respect, another in another. The fist-hatchet was developed to a high point in the Old Stone Age; the atomic bomb, in ours. The modern evolution of aviation, though faintly forecast by efforts and dreams of previous generations, is little short of a miracle. But "Those flights upon the banks of Thames" by Will Shakespeare have not since been equaled.

It is, indeed, possible to overestimate the significance and importance of material change. Gustave Le Bon even went so far as to assert: "Things hardly change. Only the ideas which we have regarding them can change greatly. It is on the basis of those ideas that we have to take action."¹²

It is with somewhat dubious satisfaction that one reads in the report of the President's Material Policy Commission, known as the Paley Report: "The quantity of most metals and mineral fuels used in the United States since the First World War exceeds the total used throughout the entire world in all of history preceding 1914," and that, whereas ores which averaged less than thirteen per cent of copper were considered not worth working in the eighteenth century, by 1900 the average content of ores used in the United States was five per cent and by 1950 had dropped below one per cent.¹³

With this may be compared the utterance of Tommaso Campanella who wrote of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: "Our age has added more to history in a hundred years than the whole world in four thousand, and more books have been published in this century than in five thousand years before."¹⁴

There has been marvelous modern progress in artificial illumination. Even the friction match is a relatively recent invention, and within our own life-span lighting by natural or artificial gas has given way to electricity. We sing:

¹² "Les choses ne changent guère. Seules les idées qu'on s'en fait peuvent changer beaucoup. C'est sur ces idées-là qu'il faut savoir agir." Quoted by Charles S. Loch, *Charity and Social Life* (London, 1910), title page.

¹³ Letter from Simon of Wythenshawe to the *London Times*, Jan. 7, 1955.

¹⁴ F. Thomae Campanellae *Civitas Solis Poetica. Idea Reipublicae Philosophicae*. Ultraieci apud Ioannem à Waesberge, anno 1643, p. 93.

Where the lights are brightly gleaming
I long to mingle with the throng

but we no longer ask:

Watchman! Tell us of the night,
What its signs and wonders are?

Darkness has lost many of its terrors, but also much of its charm and magic. We even illuminate Gothic cathedrals and Roman amphitheaters by misplaced floodlights, instead of resting content with Byron:

... when the rising moon begins to climb
Its topmost arch and gently pauses there;
When the stars twinkle through the loops of time
.....
When the light shines serene, but doth not glare
.....
..... for divine
Should be the light which streams here, to illumine
..... the azure gloom
Of an Italian night. . . .¹⁵

True it is that cathedrals can stand the floodlights and show up better under them than most modern edifices and monuments. But we are so used to floodlights and spotlights and close-ups and flashlights, that we won't pay much attention to a cathedral or amphitheater, unless it is emphasized in some such unnatural way, and nothing is left to the imagination.

Innovators and reformers too often have had single-track minds which were taken possession of and overwhelmed by one dominating idea. A solitary reason for making a change may appeal to them so powerfully that it alone is sufficient to stir them to action, goad them into agitation, and impel them into propaganda. Of arguments to the contrary they take no account. How the situation which they wish to alter came about, they do not inquire, or, if they do, assign it to an unwholesome origin and ascribe it to evil motives. Nor are they interested in the many reasons, past and present, why this state of affairs has continued for so long, and possibly should continue for still longer. For them, the very fact that it has endured for so long a time is in the nature of presumptive evidence that it has outlived its usefulness, and its long persistence they regard not as a sign of inherent merit but as so much the more a lag from the march of modern progress. They do not pause to reflect that ancient Egyptian civilization may have lasted so long because it was not continually being reformed. They do not consider that many things

¹⁵ From *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto IV, stanzas cxliv, cxxviii.

have died a natural death: say, building pyramids, phlebotomy, homeopathy, clear and distinct enunciation on the stage, the trireme and manipule, the troubadours and courtly love, "spare the rod and spoil the child," mid-Victorianism, women's Browning clubs, New England thrift, domestic service in the United States, poll taxes, the study of Greek, and the ideal of a just price.

The iconoclasts who smashed statues, shattered stained glass windows, and whitewashed over religious paintings, thought only of ridding the church of idolatry, and recked not of the irreparable loss to art, archaeology, and history. Those who agitated for laws against child labor had no idea that these laws might encourage idleness and be a cause of juvenile delinquency. A recent speaker at an educational conference at Sheffield said that it is not sufficiently recognized that adolescence is a new problem.

For the first time in history we were keeping in a state of tutelage persons who were physically, emotionally, and often intellectually adult.

Shakespeare's Juliet, said Mr. Briton, was 13. Today she would be put into a county council institution, and Romeo imprisoned. General Wolfe held an important Army command at 17; today he would be stigmatized as an "early leaver" from the grammar school. By the age of 19 Joan of Arc had defeated the finest military machine in Europe, crowned a King of France, and herself suffered martyrdom. If today she were training as a teacher, she would be allowed out after 10 P.M. once a term, on written application and on promise to take another member of the college with her.¹⁶

However, it is to be remembered that the German humanist Wimpheling published an educational work entitled *Adolescentia* as early as the year 1500.¹⁷ Adolescence had also been one of the topics which a Franciscan doctor and professor had discussed with Antonio de la Scala, ruler of Verona from 1375 to 1388.¹⁸

A good illustration of this reforming attitude is furnished by the proposal, made frequently of late, to alter the calendar to a year of thirteen months of twenty-eight days each, in order that the same day of the month may always fall on the same day of the week, and confusion become worse confounded. The chief, if not the sole, argument for this proposed change would seem to be business convenience, although a sop is thrown to religion, which once

¹⁶ The London Times, Jan. 7, 1955.

¹⁷ Printed at Strasburg by N. Flach, 74 fols. in-4.

¹⁸ Basel MS. A.VI.6, fols. 22ra-141vb: rubric, "Incipiunt profissmata secundum ordinem quolibet id est de qualibet materia indifferenter . . . Edita per eximium doctorem fratrem Franciscanum de Corneclano ordinis minorum professorem, que quidem se habent per modum dyalogorum videlicet domino Anthonio interroganti et respondetur per dictum doctorem ut post prologum subsequentem plenius continetur"; incipit, "Nescio excelse princeps si in laudem. . ." Franciscus's surname is also found spelled Coneclano, Coronellis, and, in Chevalier and Sbaralea, Cornegliano.

controlled the calendar, by retaining Sundays. If present proneness toward uniformity also plays some part in it, the perennial human love of variety can pretty surely be counted upon soon to rebel against this and to tire of holiday week-ends which always begin and close the same as they have before. Moreover, the proposal pays no attention to astronomical, historical, and numerical considerations. Thirteen is a prime number, whereas twelve is divisible by two, three, four, and six, and corresponds to the four seasons of the year and to the twelve signs of the zodiac. These last, however, have now become astronomically passé, although still much in favor in the interior decoration of ocean liners. On the other hand, the new proposal retains the old planetary week of seven days, indeed makes it the very essence of the calendar, although the number of planets has long since been known to exceed seven. At present the historian is able to check on the correctness of a past date by noting whether in the year as stated the given day of the month would have fallen upon the reported day of the week. With the proposed new calendar these would be identical for any and every year, so that there would be no means of guarding against an error in a figure. I doubt if this consideration has ever entered the heads of the advocates of the thirteen-month calendar.

Such innovations and reforms and changes, which were made from some one compelling reason, or from mere love of change, are of course likely to be undone for another compelling reason which had been overlooked before, or from the same mere love of change. Sometimes the change is even for the worse. A favorite indoor sport of librarians and keepers of manuscripts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was to renumber the leaves of the manuscripts, sometimes erroneously, sometimes numbering fly leaves, sometimes omitting to number blank leaves in the course of the codex, so that in the self-same manuscript the new numbering may first spurt ahead of the old and then lag behind it.

When Magdalen Hall at Oxford was replaced in 1874 by the second foundation of Hertford College, not only did what had been catalogued by Coxe in 1852 as MS. 2 of Magdalen Hall become MS. 4 of Hertford College, but some busy hand renumbered the leaves of a treatise which had been 127-136 in Coxe's catalogue to fols. 140-147. This did not mean that the text in question had shrunk in the interim from ten to eight leaves but merely that the aforesaid busy hand had been in too much of a hurry and skipped two leaves, which it subsequently renumbered 141a and 141b.

In manuscript Digby 57 at the Bodleian, Oxford, the astronomical tables of William Reade, bishop of Chichester from 1340 on, for the meridian of

Oxford, end on the leaf which bears the old numbering 39 and has been newly numbered 43. The following leaf has the old numbering 40 but was left unnumbered by the new dispensation, which kept the number 44 for the next leaf, on which further tables begin with the old number 41. The numberings thus remain three apart until we reach the point where two leaves have been cut out which bore the old numbers 104 and 105, consequently old leaves 106 and 107 received the new numbers 107 and 108. Then the leaves which were originally numbered 108-112 have no new numbers, and old 113 becomes new 109, leaving the old numbering now four ahead of the new, whereas it had started four behind the other. Three more blank leaves with old numbers from 148 to 151 increase the discrepancy to seven; by the time fol. 192 old and 178 new has been reached the numberings are fourteen apart.

On the other hand, manuscripts in which there was no old numbering have sometimes been left in that condition, or only every tenth leaf indicated, or those on which new treatises begin. In one case the new foliation is indicated only in the catalogue.¹⁹

Renumbering the leaves was bad enough, but librarians and cataloguers were not content to stop there; they loved to renumber the manuscripts themselves. Toward the close of the seventeenth century the famous scholar Mabillon and other Benedictines drew up in longhand an excellent catalogue of the manuscripts in the royal library at Paris, giving the page on which each item began and its opening words.²⁰ But when the printed catalogue was issued in 1744 in four folio volumes, not only were these helpful details omitted, and somewhat fewer items listed merely in numerical order, but the attempt was made to renumber the manuscripts according to a new arrangement in topical order. This was unlikely to prove much of a success in any case, since many manuscripts are a complex of treatises on different subjects. But in the rearrangement some manuscripts were apparently overlooked and at the last moment, instead of receiving integral numbers of their own, had to be squeezed in as Latin MS. 7377A, 7377B, 7377C, and so on. Since then new manuscripts have not been numbered topically but simply in the order of their acquisition, and usually have been catalogued even more briefly.

In the nineteenth century Valentinelli in cataloguing the manuscripts at the library of St. Mark's, Venice,²¹ regrouped them topically in classes, but they are still arranged in the library itself by the old shelf-marks. So are the Ashburnham manuscripts at the Laurentian library in Florence, though the

¹⁹ MS. E.III.61 of the Cambridge University Library.

²⁰ Contained in Latin MSS. 9358, 9359 and 9360 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

²¹ Giuseppe Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum* (6 vols., Venice, 1868-73).

catalogue issued in the late nineteenth century by the Ministry of Public Instruction added a new numbering.²²

The oldest known arithmetic in French, an anonymous work of the thirteenth century, to which the abbé Lebeuf had called attention in 1741, and Daunou again in 1824, and which was published by Charles Henry in 1882,²³ had in the interim been sought for in vain by M. Chasles, historian of mathematics, despite repeated search for it by the librarians of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève ("malgré les recherches réitérées de MM. les conservateurs de cette bibliothèque"), because the aforesaid Daunou, during his administration as head of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, had changed the number of the manuscript from BB2 in-4° to R.1.17.²⁴

In the realm of printed books the British Museum, which is in many ways the best library in the world, has recently instituted a reform for which it no doubt has excellent reasons. Where in the past a number of treatises by different authors and printed at different times but often bearing on the same subject, had been bound together and given a common shelf-mark, these are now being rebound separately and given each a new shelf-mark, so that the entries for them in the printed catalogue no longer apply, and one must look the shelf-marks up again. Moreover, under the old arrangement, when one put in a slip for a certain work, one would often be pleasantly surprised to find with it other treatises in the same field of one's investigation, of whose existence one had been previously ignorant.²⁵ Furthermore, when one is allowed to order only ten volumes a day, under the new dispensation one can obtain only ten treatises, whereas under the old regime one might see thirty or forty. Fortunately my volumes on the seventeenth century were nearly completed before the new process had gotten well under way. Otherwise I would have had to spend more time and cover less ground. Which again illustrates the point that no great reform is without some small loss for someone.

When printing with movable type was first invented or introduced into western Europe in the middle of the fifteenth century, high hopes were raised in the mind of every intellectual. Here was an innovation that was not merely

²² Ministero della pubblica istruzione, *Indici e Cataloghi*, VIII. I *Codici Ashburnhamiani della R. Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana di Firenze* (Rome), I, fasc. i (1887); ii (1888); iii (1891); iv (1896).

²³ Boncompagni's *Bullettino di Bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche*, XV (1882), 53-55.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

²⁵ Or they may be on a quite different subject, as was the case with the work which feared invasion of England by papal demons and which had no connection with my field of investigation then, so that I failed to note its author and title.

a mechanical improvement but of stupendous mental and educational promise. Instead of merely enabling man to move faster—like the horse, the locomotive, the automobile, and the airplane, it enabled one to read faster, to think faster, and, it was for some time fondly believed, to publish faster. A historical work entitled *Fasciculus temporum*, in the edition of 1482,²⁶ said of the decade from 1444 to 1454 that the most subtle science of impression of books, unheard of in all previous ages, was discovered about this time in the city of Mainz.

This is the art of arts, the science of sciences, by the exercise of whose swiftness the desirable treasure of wisdom and knowledge, after which all men instinctively yearn, springing so to speak from dark and deep hiding-places, enlightens and enriches this wretched world. For the infinite virtue of books, once revealed at Athens, Paris, or other universities or a very few sacred libraries and to certain students, by this invention is spread abroad in every tribe, people, nation, and language.

Similarly Polydore Vergil, in his work on the inventors of things, which first appeared in 1499, after describing the library of the dukes of Urbino as the most celebrated in Italy, continued:

So that was a great boon to mortals, but in no way to be compared with what we have gained in our time, having found a new way of writing. For as many letters are printed in one day by one man as scarcely could be written by many in a whole year. By it there has been diffused among us a great abundance of books for all disciplines, so that no longer will there be any work that even a needy man will have to do without.²⁷

Alas, poor Polydore! The cost of printing in this country has tripled in the last fifteen years. The needy man may perhaps be able to obtain access in a public or university library to the scholarly work which he can no longer afford to purchase. That is to say, he can, if the scholarly work in question has ever been published. But the chances are that its author has been unable to afford to do this. There are many foundations that will provide funds to stimulate early training in research, to launch the first feeble barks on the sea of learned investigation, or even, to some extent, to support the carrying on of further study. But there are very few that will finance the publication of the accomplished results and the mature findings of ripe and advanced

²⁶ "Chronica que dicitur fasciculus temporum edita in alma universitate colonie agrippine super rhenum a quodam devoto cartusiensi finit feliciter. Sepius quidem iam impressa sed negligentia correctorum in diversis locis a vero originali minus iuste emendata. Nunc vero non sine magna labore ad pristinum statum reducta cum quibusdam additionibus per humilem virum Bernhardum Richel civem Basiliensem sub anno domini Mccccclxxxii x kal. mensii marcii." I examined this edition at Berne; according to Stillwell, *Incunabula in American Libraries* (1940), R259, there are only two copies of it in North America. The edition in the Columbia University Library (Stillwell R262) does not include the passage on printing.

²⁷ *De inventoribus rerum*, II, 7.

scholarship. They help in sowing the seed and fertilizing the soil. But they do nothing to harvest the crops, which are left to rot on the stalks.

Let us appeal to these noble foundations in the words of an old hymn:

Lords of harvest! Send forth reapers;
Hear us, lords, to you we cry;
Send them now the sheaves to gather,
Ere the harvest time pass by.

The truest and surest sense in which we may say, Whatever was, *was* right is not that it was morally or intellectually irreproachable but that it fitted precisely into the picture of those days, matched the warp and woof of the contemporary fabric, formed a harmonious part of the whole, conformed to the spirit of the age and to the ideals and practices of the period, and was neither anachronistic nor misplaced, springing naturally from what preceded and leading on inexorably to what followed. It is the historian's task and function to make sure that his interpretation of any document or monument, event or person, is right in this sense, to determine the correct date of a manuscript or charter, painting or building, battle or institution; to place a work by say Albertus Magnus or Aristotle, both in its proper sequence in that individual's personal intellectual development, and in its influence on the thought of its own age and of subsequent intellectual or artistic history. Just as in the reconstruction of the skeleton and physique of an extinct animal, or a broken Greek vase or Roman mosaic, all the remaining bones or fragments or *tesserae* must be arranged in exactly their original positions. Just as physicians in the Middle Ages held that every individual had his own peculiar *complexio* or physical constitution and mental ego, which must be taken into account in prescribing for him, so every period in history and stage of civilization had its own inimitable complex, to which certain customs and ideas and institutions belong, and to which others are quite alien and foreign.

True it is that a particular custom or idea or institution may continue without much alteration through several or even many successive periods. But the aggregate of customs keeps shifting; the combination of ideas is never the same; the fabric of institutions alters. Similarly unsettled is the relationship between the three at any two times.

The sages of ancient and medieval and early modern times—from Hermes Trismegistus to Albumasar to Cornelis Drebbel—did not realize that their secrets might become out-of-date and, if withheld too long, no longer suit an ensuing age.

How seldom has an ancient statue or monument been properly restored! How difficult it is for a translator to put himself in the place of the past

original author! How still more difficult to put his readers in the frames of mind of the original hearers of long ago! Rarely, indeed, does a modern rendering receive the praise which a recent reviewer has accorded to A. J. Arberry's *Moorish Poetry*. Professor G. E. von Grunebaum writes: "The translation has always caught up the motifs or the conceits of the original and . . . will evoke in the English reader (or hearer) a mood closely akin to . . . that presumably experienced by the Arab reader (or hearer)." ²⁸

Even Shakespeare, although he has been called not of one age but for all time, can be more fully appreciated, if we realize the hold which such beliefs as alchemy and the witchcraft delusion had upon the thought of his age. The passage

. . . the prophetic soul
Of the wide world, dreaming on things to come

is to be read in the light of the widespread credence then in divination from dreams, in the existence of a world soul, mystic thought transference, universal sympathy and magnetism. And in the case of the subsequent lines,

The mortal moon hath her eclipse endured,
And the sad augurs mock their own presage;
Incertainties now crown themselves assured,
And peace proclaims olives of endless age. ²⁹

commentators would not have attempted the far-fetched identification of the moon with Queen Elizabeth I, had they measured the prevalence then of astrological predictions and fear of eclipses. Then? Even today one may overhear a stolid businessman at an adjoining table in a London restaurant express great worry as to the immediate future and the hope that the current moon may pass without the injury to him and his business which it threatens.

Moreover, in Shakespeare's time Newton had not yet subjected the movements of the heavenly bodies, which had long been considered eternal and incorruptible, to the same physical laws as terrestrial phenomena. Rather it was still the general belief, as it had been for centuries past, that all terrestrial phenomena and change were subject to the motion and influence of the heavenly orbs. ³⁰

Blind to this background, Pierre Bayle, who shared many of the defects of would-be reformers and care-free skeptics, could write in 1682: "There has never been anything more impertinent, more chimerical than astrology,

²⁸ *Speculum*, XXVIII (1953), 856.

²⁹ The quotations are from Sonnet 107.

³⁰ See my "The True Place of Astrology in the History of Science," *Isis*, XLVI (September, 1955), 273-78.

nothing more disgraceful to human nature.”³¹ Pure caprice, according to Bayle, gave their names and figures to the signs of the zodiac, upon whose supposed qualities astrological predictions are based.³² But why pure caprice should thus prevail in organized human thought is a question which does not seem to have occurred to him.

Of “olives of endless age” the commentators have said less. Maybe the allusion is not merely to olive branches as emblems of peace, but to the trees themselves, which naturally are long-lived and were protected in ancient Athens by the death penalty for one who destroyed a sacred olive tree. During the Peloponnesian War, many of the trees were destroyed. Afterwards a suit was brought against an Athenian on the charge of having uprooted the stump of such a sacred olive. Perhaps Shakespeare was acquainted with the oration which Lysias composed for that occasion.

There are, of course, exceptions to every rule. Sometimes one encounters not merely a surprisingly modern attitude in or statement by a medieval writer, but even what might almost seem an uncanny insight or foresight into present-day conditions. Thus, when Melchion de Friquento of Naples in 1437 carried his astronomical table of conjunctions of the sun and moon at nineteen-year intervals down to A.D. 2007,³³ he not only made it evident that he did not share the belief which has often been attributed to his time, that the end of the world was imminent, but also set a date which seems none too soon to the eschatology of our atomic age.

Although Pope suggested that “Whatever is, is right,” he did not apply this paradox historically, as we have been trying to do, to previous periods, but dismissed the thousand years or so before Erasmus with the stinging couplet:

A second deluge learning then o’errun
And the monks finished what the Goths begun.³⁴

If Pope thus spoke with the voice of classicism, even the succeeding romantic movement, while stressing the importance of medieval literature and art, failed to result in a just appreciation of medieval intellectual achievement, and, in particular, of medieval science. Of such almost complete blindness to the scientific knowledge and information current in the Middle Ages, a few striking illustrations may be given from within the reach of our own recollection.

³¹ Pierre Bayle, *Lettre à M.L.A.D.C., docteur de Sorbonne: où il est prouvé par plusieurs raisons tirées de la philosophie et de la théologie que les comètes ne sont point le présage d’aucun malheur* . . . (1682), p. 39.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³³ Contained in Latin MS. 10262 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

³⁴ *Essay on Criticism*, lines 691–92.

Henry Osborn Taylor, a former president of this Association, in the first edition of *The Medieval Mind* almost completely omitted the subject of medieval science.

The eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in apparent utter ignorance of works on cosmology and astronomy from Macrobius to Sacrobosco, and on botany and zoology from Macer to Albertus Magnus, said of the *Physiologus*, "the name *Physiologus* [was] given to a cyclopedia of what was known and imagined about earth, sea, sky, birds, beasts and fishes, which for a thousand years was the authoritative source on these matters and was translated into every European tongue."³⁵ This myth concerning the *Physiologus* is as quaint and childish as any of the stories about animals in that popular manual. It affords an excellent illustration of the weird impossible romantic notions concerning the Middle Ages and natural science then which are still entertained by many specialists in the sciences today, who display the same gullibility as that which they impute to their predecessors.

In 1893, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the learned Vienna Academy, Norbert Herz, author of a history of the determination of the orbits of planets and comets, and of a treatise upon Kepler's astrology, could make a statement which today sounds astonishing, that the Alfonsine Tables of about 1270 were the last astronomical tables to be drawn up before the invention of printing.³⁶ Now we know of tables of Barcelona for the years 1361-1433, those by Jacob Poel at Perpignan in 1361, those of Nicholaus de Heybech at Erfurt in 1384 or 1394, and of many, many others.³⁷

The first mention of a zebra in a European language had hitherto been dated in the year 1641, but Wickersheimer has recently found one mentioned in a medical work which was composed between 1249 and 1251.³⁸ As against the old canard that surgery in the Middle Ages was left in the hands of barbers, we now find the daily press recording the acquisition by the Yale Medical Library of the Codex Paneth of 1326, and "the amazingly advanced surgical instruments of the time. Many of the scalpels, surgical saws, forceps and orthopedic instruments shown in this manuscript look remarkably modern. In fact, some of the instruments shown . . . are still in use today."³⁹

Sometimes, however, the shoe is on the other foot, and an invention which

³⁵ Article on Arthropoda.

³⁶ Norbert Herz, "Ueber die Alphonsinischen Tafeln und die im Besitze der K. K. Hofbibliothek in Wien befindlichen HSS derselben," *Sitzungsberichte d. Math.-Natur. Klasse d. K. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, CII, 99-117.

³⁷ See further my "Pre-Copernican Astronomical Activity," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCIV (1950), 321-26.

³⁸ "La Practica de Gregoire de Montelongo, évêque de Tripoli," *Actes du Septième Congrès International d'Histoire des Sciences* (Jerusalem, 1953), p. 633.

³⁹ New York *Herald Tribune*, Mar. 19, 1955.

had been claimed for the Middle Ages, is traced back to classical times. Thus Feldhaus dates artesian wells in 165 B.C., and derives the word from the Latin *artus*, rather than from Artois.⁴⁰

In our schools it used to be taught on the one hand that everybody before Columbus believed that the earth was flat and, on the other hand, that everyone before Copernicus adhered to the Ptolemaic or geocentric system. These two erroneous assumptions were furthermore quite contradictory, since the geocentric hypothesis implies and requires a spherical earth at the center of the spherical heavens—more evidently, indeed, than the heliocentric hypothesis of Copernicus or the elliptical orbits of Kepler. To the cogent reasons which Ptolemy, whose *Almagest* was available in Latin translation from 1175 on, while his system had been vaguely familiar before through such writers as Macrobius, found frequently in early medieval manuscripts, and who estimated the earth's circumference at 252,000 stades and held that the southern hemisphere was habitable—to the cogent reasons of Ptolemy for believing that the earth was a sphere, John of Sacrobosco in the early thirteenth century added the illustration of the ship from the top of whose mast a signal on shore can still be seen after it has vanished from the sight of a person standing at the foot of the mast, an illustration still employed in the altered form of the top of the mast being visible from shore after the hull of the vessel has disappeared from view below the curvature of the wave.

The Middle Ages had few better friends and advocates than the author of *Mont St. Michel and Chartres*. One graduate student told me that he had been led by reading it to work for the Ph.D. degree in medieval history. Another stood up all night long in a third-class French railroad carriage in order to visit the famous abbey. But the education of Henry Adams did not extend to the point of learning that the earth was known to be spherical in the medieval period, as was set forth in the Latin translations of the *Almagest* of Ptolemy and of its Arabic derivatives, in the early thirteenth-century *Sphere* of Sacrobosco and similar textbooks, in the *Divine Comedy* of Dante, and many other places. Yet in *The Education of Henry Adams*, first published posthumously in 1904, we still read at page 485 in the edition of 1918, "the compass coerced the most imbruted mariner to act on the impossible idea that the earth was round."

No apter illustration can be offered of the progress that has since been made in the study of medieval science. No more convincing instance need be adduced to demonstrate that the more we study the past, the more we find that it was right, not wrong as previously supposed on the basis of

⁴⁰ Franz Maria Feldhaus, *Die Maschine im Leben der Völker* (1954), p. 185.

insufficient evidence and knowledge. The more we know concerning any past period, the better our opinion of it becomes. Charges of ignorance against it are usually a sign of our ignorance about it. Charges of bigotry and superstition against it may be due to our own prejudice and narrow-mindedness.

Mr. Toastmaster, members of the American Historical Association and of other learned societies meeting here with us, loyal friends and welcome guests, denizens of one world "dreaming on things to come," may you live to see the time when whatever shall be, will be right,

And peace proclaims olives of endless age!

Columbia University

Patterns of Thought and Action in an American Depression, 1882-1886

SAMUEL REZNECK

IN the annals of American depressions, certain years have acquired both actual and symbolic significance as the customary and convenient means of dating them. Years of panic like 1837, 1873, 1893, and most recently 1929, have ushered in such cataclysmic runs on banks, breaks in the stock exchange, dramatic business failures, and particularly that so abrupt transformation of the public mood from optimism to pessimism as to obscure the more prolonged scope and evolutionary nature of the business cycle. In this respect, the period of depression falling between 1882 and 1886 appears to be uniquely different and scarcely typical. It was a depression without an initial or introductory panic, although one of modest and limited proportions gave promise of developing during 1884. The undramatic aspect of this period of depression became a matter for contemporary comment, as evidenced by the observations of Horace White on the "State of Trade" that here were all the marks of a "commercial crisis except one. It was not introduced by a money panic." Instead, since 1881 "the decline in stocks has been gradual, and there has been no collapse of credit, yet we are having all the other effects of a crisis in full measure. Manufacturing industry is depressed to a degree hardly surpassed in our history. . . . It is a common remark amongst those who do not look below the surface of things, that this is a 'rich man's panic'."¹ Carroll D. Wright, who pioneered in the new professional role of official economist, first as chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of the Statistics of Labor, and then in a similar capacity in the federal government after 1885, made this depression the subject of his first investigation and report. He also noted that it had developed without an accompanying financial panic and used it, indeed, as a basis for distinguishing between financial panics and industrial depressions. His conclusion was that "the present industrial depression is the first of its kind as an entirety. . . ."²

David A. Wells, on the other hand, interpreted the depression of the 1880's as only one stage in a sequence of "Economic Disturbances since 1873,"

¹ New York *Nation*, XXXVIII (Feb. 7, 1884), 112; George H. Hull, *Industrial Depressions* (New York, 1911), p. 155; Wesley C. Mitchell, *What Happens during Business Cycles* (New York, 1951), p. 12.

² Carroll D. Wright, *Industrial Depressions* (Washington, D. C., 1886), pp. 11, 65, 256.

constituting a relapse from the brief recovery of 1879-1881. It was fitted into the pattern of a "Great Depression," extending from the 1870's into the 1890's, whose deeper, underlying causes became a matter of concern and investigation by a Royal Commission on the Depression of Trade and Industry in Britain, and whose world-wide concatenation of cause, circumstance, and recurring crisis was traced by Max Wirth, the historian of commercial crises, to its culmination in 1893, when "The whole human race seemed to be in collapse: revolution and financial bankruptcy in Portugal and Brazil, the *coup d'état* in Chile, war in Central America, a financial and commercial crisis in Argentina, a building crisis in Italy."³ In the United States too, the troubled 1880's provided a link of continuity between the stormy seventies and the rebellious nineties. If this was the gilded age of business expansion and laissez-faire dominance, it also became literally a silver age of populist agitation and radical upheaval. Frequent and prolonged depression provided a crucible in which were fired and tested ambivalent philosophies and programs, whether for the preservation of the status quo or the introduction of utopian innovations.

The symptoms and manifestations of depression during the 1880's were small and cumulative, rather than intensive and acute. They took shape in a steady decline of prices, both of commodities and stocks, a persistent dullness of business, and a continuing and rather plaintive cry: "When Will Business Improve?" With a steady stream of business failures, rising from 6,738 in 1883 to nearly 10,000 for both 1884 and 1885, there developed the threat of panic and the reported exposure of business scandals, as in the cases of Grant and Ward, involving the ex-President himself, as well as several national banks. It was noted that such "painful disclosures . . . have produced a natural insecurity which extends quite beyond the speculators in Wall Street to the great community of staid people who have more or less money to invest. Such events . . . are public disasters, because they shake faith in the personal honor upon which all business proceeds. It is that loss of confidence which produces panics."⁴

³ D. A. Wells, "Economic Disturbances since 1873," *Popular Science Monthly*, XXXI-XXXIII (1887-89), *passim*; also by the same author, *Recent Economic Changes* (New York, 1890), pp. 1 ff.; H. L. Beales, "The Great Depression," *Economic History Review*, V (October, 1934), 65 ff.; Max Wirth, "The Crisis of 1890," *Journal of Political Economy*, I (March, 1893), 214 f., 234; H. C. Ager, in *American Journal of Politics*, IV (March, 1894), 246; J. W. Jenks, "The Causes of the Fall in Prices since 1872," *Journal of Social Science*, no. 35 (December, 1897), pp. 34 ff.

⁴ *Harper's Weekly*, XXVIII (May 24, 31, 1884), 326, 342; *Bankers' Magazine* (New York), XXXVIII (September, 1883; June, 1884), 161, 901 ff.; XXXIX (July, 1884), 420, 460; Oliver M. W. Sprague, *History of Crises under the National Banking System* (Washington, 1910), pp. 108 ff.; A. G. Auble, "The Depressions of 1873 and 1882" (Ph.D. thesis in economics, 1949, in Harvard University Library), pp. 144 ff.

To the question, "Are We a Nation of Rascals?" was given the sober warning that "a young borrowing nation . . . with a character to establish cannot afford to be dishonest." L. J. Gage, president of the American Bankers' Association, cautioned his colleagues against the rising specter of silver but also reminded them that "Lending cures panics, while non-lending or niggardly lending aggravates them."⁵ While the New York Clearing House Association arranged for the issue of clearinghouse loan certificates to relieve the pressure, as in previous crises, there was also a renewed demand for the reform of national bank abuses and practices, particularly in the payment of interest on country bank deposits. Wall Street bore the brunt of accusation as "an evil in the land, a danger to private wealth, a disturbing force in general business, and a foe to public morals." Somewhat prematurely the critic predicted that "The Exchange has seen its palmiest days. . . . The hand of decay is on it. The not very distant future will probably see it relegated to the limbo of departed things."⁶ The equally censorious *Nation* complained that "stocks have been 'dull' ever since Garfield's death [1881] and have been growing duller. . . . We have been told for about a dozen times within the last two years that 'the liquidation', whatever that is, is over. . . ." The effect of all this "has been to produce general blueness or despondency," while the important influence of Wall Street was reflected widely:

It restricts consumption in all but the necessities. It makes capitalists timid and doubtful, and by keeping a good deal of money idle, lowers the interest on all investments, and makes people of fixed incomes feel poor and economical. Altogether it may fairly be pronounced one of the strangest phenomena of modern times.⁷

The impact of depression upon production, wages, and employment became a subject for complaint and speculation, corresponding often to a predetermined purpose and prejudice. In October, 1884, *Bradstreet's* conducted a field survey of "the Industrial Situation" in the northeast of the United States, comprising twenty-two states, and arrived at a figure of some 350,000 unemployed persons, an average of about thirteen per cent of total employment, but varying widely by section, city, and industry. It estimated the wage reductions at from twenty to thirty per cent and saw little hope for improvement in the new year.⁸ The Michigan Bureau of Labor Statistics reported factories closed and wages reduced from ten to twenty-five per cent and posed the familiar paradox: "At no other time in the history of this coun-

⁵ *Bankers' Magazine*, XXXIX (September, December, 1884), 172, 425 ff.

⁶ J. F. Hume, "The Heart of Speculation," *Forum*, II (October, 1886), 130 ff.

⁷ *Nation*, XXXVII (Aug. 16, 1883), 132; Wright, p. 290.

⁸ *Bradstreet's*, X (Dec. 20, 1884), 386 ff.

try have we had so much wheat, corn, wool, clothing, or so many boots and shoes. Yet destitution was never more prevalent." In Massachusetts, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, under Carroll D. Wright, carried out the first comprehensive state census of employment "in a depressed state" during 1884-1885 and noted that some 241,000 persons, or nearly thirty per cent of all employed persons, had been unemployed an average of about four months during the preceding year. Unemployment had been particularly heavy in such industrial cities as Fall River, Lynn, and Brockton, with percentages of nearly half or more of total employment.⁹

In 1885, the newly established federal Bureau of Labor made a sample survey of employment through the medium of fifteen agents in the field and reported that one million persons were unemployed, equaling approximately seven and a half per cent of all those employed in industry, agriculture, and trade.¹⁰ At the same time, however, Terence Powderly, master workman of the Knights of Labor, estimated unemployment at two million persons, which was the real reason why "a deep rooted feeling of discontent pervades the masses. . . . the army of the discontented is gathering fresh recruits day by day. . . ." ¹¹ The *New York Times* commented sharply upon the mid-winter half-time employment policy adopted by the coal operators in order to keep wages down, the coal supply short, and coal prices up, that it "sent a cold chill through this region and is received with great dissatisfaction by the workmen."¹² The trend toward short-time employment and wage reductions, which provoked an outburst of almost hopeless strikes, prompted the New York state commissioner of labor to remind

Employers . . . that a reduction of ten per cent, which is below the average, entails a great deal of pinching and dumb and insensible suffering on the part of the working people. . . . It is a pity that those whose wages are low enough at any time, the very lowness of which should give them the right to at least look forward to steadiness of work, should have to bear the brunt of the suffering which periods of depression entail.¹³

For the strike-ridden year, 1886, the labor commissioner scouted the "almost universal opinion that there is work for all." Describing "the strife for work," and the "almost impossible task to arrive at the true number of unemployed

⁹ *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (Boston, 1887), pp. 261 ff.; *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics* (Lansing, Mich., 1885), p. 116.

¹⁰ Wright, p. 65.

¹¹ *North American Review*, CXL (April, 1885), 369; Henry David, *History of the Haymarket Affair* (New York, 1936), pp. 17 ff.

¹² *New York Times*, Jan. 5, 1884; *Seventh Annual Report of the Ohio Bureau of Labor Statistics* (Columbus, Ohio, 1884), pp. 5 ff.

¹³ *Third Annual Report of the New York State Bureau of Statistics of Labor for 1885* (Albany, 1886), p. 298.

... in a large city like New York," he raised the rather unorthodox question whether it was "to be wondered at that the unions have felt constrained to throw up barriers and place restrictions around their trades in attempts to prevent those out of work from competing with those at work. . . . It almost seems to be enlightened selfishness, an extension of the ideas upon which business is generally conducted."¹⁴

The *Nation*, however, deplored the current wave of labor unrest and pointed out that the declining prices had actually favored the workers and that the burden of losses due to the great deflation had fallen upon the corporations, "all without one cent of direct loss to the laborers themselves, and without any suspension of employment. They kept on at full work and fair wages for the 'black year' (1885). Doubtless in some quarters such a year would naturally be followed by efforts at retrenchment on the part of managers." This had not been, therefore, "a period of social distress, of which there is very little indeed, but . . . a period of mental craze," which was "the salient feature of the striking epidemic."¹⁵

The reality of the business decline between 1882 and 1886 was, however, not to be denied, although its magnitude was not easily determined. Measured by an index comprising six series, which included railway revenues, pig iron and coal production, domestic cotton consumption, bank clearings, and merchandise imports, business activity fell by almost a fourth. The decline in the production of durable goods alone was approximately the same. New York City Bank Clearings dropped from more than forty-six billion dollars in 1882 to approximately twenty-five billion dollars in 1885. Similarly, immigration declined from nearly three fourths of a million in 1882 to less than 400,000 in 1885. But, what was equally serious, depression generated what Wright described as "a mental and moral malady which seizes the public mind after the first influences of the depression are materially or physically felt. Falling prices . . . create apprehensiveness on the part of all classes, and the result is that the depression is aggravated in all its features."¹⁶ This was not confined to wage earners but affected all levels and classes of society, from ministers, economists, and philosophers to farmers, businessmen, and poli-

¹⁴ *Fourth Annual Report . . . for 1886* (Albany, 1887), pp. 24 ff., 36; John R. Commons, *History of Labor in the United States* (New York, 1921), II, 357 ff.

¹⁵ *Nation*, XLIII (Sept. 2, 1886), 191.

¹⁶ Wright, pp. 66 ff., 245, 290; Alvin H. Hansen, *Business Cycles and National Income* (New York, 1951), p. 40; Edwin Frickey, *Production in the United States, 1860-1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1947), pp. 64, 128-29; A. R. Eckler, "A Measure of the Severity of Depressions, 1873-1932," *Review of Economic Statistics*, XV (May 15, 1933), 75 ff.; Joseph Schumpeter, *Business Cycles* (New York, 1939) I, 340; Henry Clews, "The Late Financial Crisis," *North American Review*, CLII (January, 1891), 105; *Fourth Annual Report of the New York State Bureau of Labor Statistics*, p. 62; Auble, "Depressions of 1873 and 1882," pp. 142, 154 ff.

ticians. Familiarity with the experience of depression past and present stimulated a renewed concern with its causes and a quest for its cure that made up in earnestness of effort what it lacked in sophistication or thoroughness of analysis. The very absence of the more modern statistical approach to the business cycle tended to accentuate the moral and even religious, as well as the social and political aspects and applications of the depression complex of thought and action. The carry-over from one crisis to another during the generation following 1873 contributed to a secular trend and intensified the cyclical pattern of discomfort and discontent, particularly in the two major areas of agricultural and labor problems and relations.

Dr. Robert Giffen, a British statistician, remarked in 1885 that the pessimism of depression echoed and re-echoed in a rather "unintelligent manner, with more than the usual emphasis laid on the assumption . . . that depression is itself an uncommon and bewildering phenomenon . . . and that the present depression is the worst on record." With equal relevance Carroll Wright made the shrewd observation that each group judges depression according to its interest; thus for bankers and merchants the trouble appears to lie in "some financial or commercial reasons," while

Clergymen and moralists largely incline to assert that social and moral influences . . . produce the industrial difficulties, . . . manufacturers incline to give industrial conditions, labor legislation, labor agitation, . . . overproduction . . . ; while the workingmen attribute industrial diseases to combinations of capital, long hours, low wages, machinery, and kindred causes.

Under Wright's direction, the field agents of the labor bureau collected a long list of suggested causes, linked, of course, with favored remedies covering both the trivial and the important, and classified under commercial and financial, industrial, political, social, and moral headings.¹⁷

In much simpler fashion, the *Nation* resolved the discussion of the causes of depression conveniently under two heads. One was the monetary explanation, placing the blame for declining prices on the contracted supply of money. The second explanation paradoxically discovered the ultimate causes of low prices and curtailment of industry in the very progress of industrial mechanization and the accompanying increase of production and productivity. This actually carried the long-run promise of a rising standard of living for the workers, and the *Nation* ironically concluded that, despite their recently enlarged activities, "the future is increasingly dark for socialistic agitators."¹⁸ In spite of this cheering note, however, there was considerable

¹⁷ Wright, pp. 76, 79, 269 f.

¹⁸ *Nation*, XXXVIII (May 8, 1884), 401; XXXIX (Sept. 25, 1884), 259; C. D. Wright, "Cheaper Living and the Rise of Wages," *Forum*, XVI (October, 1893), 226 f.

contemporary alarm over the many manifestations of radical activity, as exemplified by the labor disturbances and the almost hysterical public reaction to them during 1885 and 1886. Significantly, Friedrich Engels, the colleague of Karl Marx, saw the proletarian promise of these activities and advised his American correspondent in 1886 that "the great thing is to get the working class to move as a class; that once obtained, they will soon find the right direction." He, furthermore, encouraged Florence Kelley in the translation of his *Condition of the English Working Class in 1844*, for publication in the United States at this opportune moment, and he predicted that "what the downbreak of Russian czarism would be for the great monarchies of Europe—the snapping of their mainstay—that is for the bourgeois of the whole world the breaking out of class war in America. . . . I only wish Marx could have lived to see it."¹⁹

The explanation of depression in terms of a production theory took various forms and offered many shadings, from overproduction to underconsumption and oversaving, as illustrated by Uriel H. Crocker of Boston, who advanced the theme of "Excessive Saving a Cause of Commercial Distress" persistently and repeatedly in each depression between 1873 and 1895.²⁰ But it was given most effective and persuasive, if rather premature, formulation by both Wright and Wells in a kind of crude version of the mature or saturated economy, anticipating Keynes and his doctrine in some respects. While reviewing enthusiastically the remarkable technological progress of half a century, and by no means denying the prospect of future growth, Wells, nevertheless, argued that the "world has within recent years, and for the first time, become saturated, as it were, under existing conditions for use and consumption, with the results of these modern improvements." This, rather than any scarcity of gold or money, was the chief cause of the prevailing and prolonged period of economic disturbances.²¹ A more optimistic commentator, Edward Atkinson, however, foresaw in 1884 the end of the "present commercial paralysis" in the future growth of population and capital needs. New housing needs alone would require investment at an annual rate of two hundred million dollars, and an equal amount for new railroad and

¹⁹ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848-1895* (New York, 1953), pp. 157, 165, 285 ff.

²⁰ Uriel H. Crocker, "Saving vs. Spending," *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1878; *Excessive Saving a Cause of Commercial Distress* (Boston, 1884); *Overproduction and Commercial Distress* (Boston, 1887); *The Cause of Hard Times* (Boston, 1895); for a survey of opinions, see *Ninth Annual Report of the Ohio Bureau of Labor Statistics* (Columbus, 1886), pp. 140 ff., 191 ff.; Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in America* (New York, 1949), III, 123 ff.; Paul Barnett, *Business Cycle Theory in the United States, 1860-1920* (Chicago, 1941), pp. 25 ff.

²¹ Wells, *Recent Economic Changes*, p. 63; also *Popular Science Monthly*, XXXI (October, 1887), 772; W. G. Moody, "Workingmen's Grievances," *North American Review*, CXXXVIII (May, 1884), 502 ff.

manufacturing equipment, and Atkinson concluded that "this is a mental and not a material question—a question of confidence and not of capital." Henry George also rejected overproduction as "preposterous . . . when there is actual want among large classes."²²

The most telling statement of the saturation theory emanated from Carroll Wright as an integral part of his analysis of the current depression in 1885. Noting its universal occurrence and similarity in all the manufacturing nations, Wright deduced that common conditions must stem from common causes, namely:

What is strictly necessary has been done oftentimes to superfluity. This full supply of economic tools to meet the wants of nearly all branches of commerce and industry is the most important factor in the present industrial depression. It is true that the discovery of new processes of manufacture will undoubtedly continue, and this will act as an ameliorating influence, but it will not leave room for a market extension, such as has been witnessed during the last fifty years, or afford a remunerative employment of the vast amount of capital which has been created during that period.

Announcing somewhat forebodingly that "the market price of products will continue low. . . . The day of large profits is probably past," Wright anticipated, but tended to discount, the growing role of future investment and development

outside the area of a high state of civilization, in China, Japan, India, Australia . . . , but this of necessity will be accomplished slowly, as these countries, not having the capital to make speculative movements, must depend upon the money-lending countries. Supplying themselves with full facilities for industries and commerce will give to each of the great nations of Europe and America something to do, but the part of each will be small and far from enough to insure more than temporary activity.²³

Wright was critical of most of the remedies proposed at this time, including those which proposed the reduction of tariffs for the encouragement of freer trade and foreign markets for American goods. While Wells called for "more liberty—liberty for labor and capital alike to buy where and what they want, and sell where and when they please, without the interference of the Legislature," Wright made the logical but embarrassing point, "If all the producing nations of the world succeed in supplying themselves with manufactured products, and then all seek the relief which comes from selling their surplus products at low rates to their neighbors, the world has indeed reached an industrial epoch, and governmental policies and the rules of political

²² *Nation*, XXXIX (Aug. 21, 1884), 152; *North American Review*, CXXXVII (December, 1883), 585.

²³ Wright, *Industrial Depressions*, pp. 80, 254-57; Hansen, *Business Cycles*, p. 64.

economy must be changed to meet the new conditions. . . ."²⁴ Significantly, at this very time, a British Royal Commission on the Depression of Trade and Industry was considering the same problem; and while the majority urged a more intensive search for new markets, a minority report recommended a policy of higher tariffs and preferential duties to offer protection for British goods and colonial markets, particularly against the threatened American competition.²⁵

Whether it was merely the characteristic and familiar consequence of depression and distress, or what Wright described as "the arrival at a novel industrial period," certainly there was a proliferation of new attitudes, new principles, and particularly new policies, demanding or defining a more active role for the state and government in business. This trend gathered momentum despite the persistent preachments and protests, among others, by the caustic E. L. Godkin of the *New York Nation* and by that arch-apostle of laissez-faire and of Spencerian and Darwinian doctrines of survival and selection, William Graham Sumner. Eloquent essays by the latter on the "Forgotten Man," and "What Social Classes Owe to Each Other," emphasized the contrast between the self-sufficing and the self-supporting and the indolent and the incompetent, for whose sins and failures the former were taxed in the name of "the coming duty and the coming love." Sumner scorned "the passion for dealing with social questions. . . . The amateurs in social science always ask: 'What shall we do?'"²⁶ More realistically, however, Carroll Wright directed attention to "many influences like the great expense of standing armies, or war and revolutions, . . . but the brief review of the present industrial situation of the great communities involved indicates that statesmanship is required to establish such guards and checks in human affairs as shall lead to a safer and surer progress than that which has attended the past decade."²⁷

A writer in the *Bankers' Magazine* was more specific in proposing that the troubles of the times called for a reassessment of needs and objectives. Propounding a rather nationalistic concept of economic policy, he discounted the doctrine of free trade and its corollary of cheaper goods for world markets, and he asked the rhetorical question: "In other words, is the world too small for all that are in it?" Rejecting an affirmative answer, he advised instead: "Let us think less of driving down the price of labor than of readjusting it to

²⁴ Wright, *Industrial Depressions*, pp. 261 ff.; D. A. Wells, *Free Trade Essential to Future National Prosperity and Development* (New York, 1882), p. 29.

²⁵ *Fifth Report* (London, 1886), xx ff., xliii ff.

²⁶ William G. Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* (New York, 1883), pp. 7 ff., 112, 127 ff.; "What Is Sociology?" *New York Herald*, Mar. 7, 1883; Moses L. Scudder, *Congested Prices* (Chicago, 1883), pp. 37 ff.; *Nation*, XXXVIII (Jan. 3, 1883), 6.

²⁷ Wright, *Industrial Depressions*, p. 258.

fit existing conditions. Let us think less of competition than of providing work for all. Let us believe that every energy, every thought and imagination may be put to some wise purpose, if we only will." The remedies lay "in shortening, to some extent at least, the hours of labor; in readjusting the remuneration of it on a reasonable and equitable basis, enlarging our wants through better municipal government, and in other ways that we might mention. . . ."²⁸ In another context, the *Bankers' Magazine* regretted the state of mind in the country which looked hopefully to possible war between Russia and Britain as a means of restoring prosperity. "Of course we should desire prosperity, but ought we at such a cost, and is there no easier or better way for bringing about this blissful condition than with fire and sword?" More appropriately, relief lay in the "unsatisfied wants of a public nature," among them "the want for better water, better gas, better sewerage, better streets, and a large number of things of that nature. . . . We may note right here, that as society advances, more of these wants are shared by the people in common, and their satisfaction must come by uniting with other persons. . . . Our wants are indefinite. The public could supply many of them." In more orthodox protectionist fashion, however, George Dean proposed an automatic increase of duties whenever imports exceeded five sixths of the value of exports, in order to maintain an essential favorable balance of trade.²⁹

Such a pronounced drift of opinion away from laissez-faire in the direction of social and political responsibility for public well-being, particularly in a time of depression, permeated the many groups comprising American society, ranging from the religious leaders of the Social Gospel to the more concrete and deliberate programs of labor and farm organizations and the political parties of protest. It penetrated the thinking of academic economists and was reflected in the motivation and the avowed purposes of the American Economic Association, founded in 1886, whose platform was largely the work of Richard Ely, its first secretary and early advocate of the new social economics. Already in 1884, Ely discussed "The Past and the Present of Political Economy," contrasting the abstract doctrines of the English school and the German or historical school of economics to the advantage of the latter. A sympathetic student of the newly emerging forces such as the idealism of the Social Gospel and the agitation both of labor and socialistic organizations, Ely argued that

²⁸ "The Industrial War," *Bankers' Magazine*, XL (June, 1886), 881 ff.

²⁹ "War and Good Times," *ibid.*, XXXIX (May, 1885), 801 ff.; George W. Dean, *The True Cause of Every American Panic and Depression of Labor and Business* (New York, 1884), pp. 13 ff.

This younger political economy no longer permits the science to be used as a tool in the hands of the greedy and the avaricious for keeping down and oppressing the laboring class. It does not acknowledge laissez-faire as an excuse for doing nothing while people starve. . . . It denotes a return to the grand principle of common sense and Christian precept. . . . They recognize the Golden Rule.³⁰

In more formal language, the platform of the American Economic Association in 1886 advanced as its objectives:

We regard the state as an educational and ethical agency whose positive aid is an indispensable condition of human progress. While we recognize the necessity of individual initiative in industrial life, we hold that the doctrine of laissez-faire is unsafe in politics and unsound in morals. . . . We hold that the conflict of labor and capital has brought to the front a vast number of social problems whose solution is impossible without the united efforts of church, state, and science.³¹

Similar conceptions of the responsibilities and relations of business and government, coupled with the pressures of discontented farm and business groups, found expression in the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, ushering in the federal regulation of railroads, in its provision for an Interstate Commerce Commission, and in the establishment of the Bureau of Labor in the Department of Interior. The effective functioning of such agencies called for the zealous and dedicated services of a new type of public servant, as exemplified in Carroll D. Wright, the first commissioner of labor, appointed in 1885, in Edward Moseley, the first secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and in Henry C. Adams, academic economist and chief statistician of that commission.³²

A leading protagonist of the new economics, Adams discussed before the Constitution Club of New York City in 1886 "The Principles That Should Control the Interference of the States in Industries." Like Ely, he acknowledged the cleavage between the English and German theories of the role of the state, and he offered as a compromise solution that "society is the organic entity about which all our reasoning should center, and both State action and the industrial activity of individuals are but functions of the complete social organism. . . . The true principle must recognize society as a unity subject only to the laws of its own development." True conservatism fell, according to Adams, between "Anarchy on the one hand, which is individualism gone

³⁰ Richard T. Ely, *The Past and the Present of Political Economy*, Johns Hopkins University Studies (Baltimore, 1884), p. 64.

³¹ *Publications of the American Economic Association*, I (Baltimore, 1887), 6-7.

³² William Z. Ripley, *Railroads, Rates and Regulation* (New York, 1924), pp. 441 ff.; Thomas C. Cochran, *Railroad Leaders* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 197; James Morgan, *The Life Work of Edward A. Moseley in the Service of Humanity* (New York, 1913).

to seed, and socialism on the other, which, both historically and logically, is a revolt against . . . laissez-faire."³³

Such a modest, middle-of-the-road, and, in the language of Ely, "ameliorative" modification of laissez-faire received reinforcement and encouragement from the moral and religious emphasis of the new Christian social philosophy, as represented by liberal ministers like Washington Gladden, R. Heber Newton, Lyman Abbott, Bishop Potter, and their considerable following in many church circles. Their education in the problems of an industrial society had begun during the depression of the 1870's and was continued during the 1880's; as one of the historians of this movement put it:

In 1876 Protestantism presented a massive almost unbroken front in its defense of the social *status quo*. Two decades later social criticism had penetrated deeply into each major church. Some of the most prominent Protestant leaders were calling for social reform; Christian radicals, not unheard, were demanding complete reorganization of society. The immediate cause of this important change lay . . . in the resistless intrusion of social crises, and particularly in a series of large-scale, violent labor conflicts. . . . The events of 1877, of 1886, and of 1892-94 were, however, impossible to ignore and difficult to explain away.³⁴

By 1886, during the great upheaval generated by the labor disturbances, and particularly by the Haymarket Square bomb episode in Chicago, there was a general apprehension of the spread of anarchism and socialism, but Reverend Washington Gladden was equally concerned over the alienation of the workers from the churches and called for an "applied Christianity." In 1886 Gladden addressed the strikers in Cleveland on "Is It Peace or War?" and demanded the recognition of the rights of labor. Reverend R. Heber Newton cautioned that it would not take "many panics for property to cry aloud for some strong man to come forth as the savior of society."³⁵ Richard Ely, both as an economist and still more as a liberal Christian layman, warned of the threatened division of America into two nations and of the need of Protestantism to assume a new role as mediator. He traced the rise of socialism in America and of the more alarming forms of anarchism under the leadership of A. R. Parsons and Johann Most, with their doctrines of force and "the propaganda of the deed." There was "no danger of overthrow in

³³ Henry C. Adams, *Principles That Should Control the Interference of the States in Industries* (New York, 1886), p. 6; also in *Publications of the American Economic Association*, I, no. 6, p. 76.

³⁴ Henry F. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (New York, 1949), p. 91; Howard H. Quint, *The Forging of American Socialism* (Columbia, S. C., 1953), pp. 103 ff., 111.

³⁵ May, pp. 97 ff., 170 ff.; Aaron I. Abell, *Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), pp. 60 ff.; R. H. Newton, "Cooperative Distribution," *North American Review*, CXXXVII (October, 1883), 327 ff.; D. D. Field, "Industrial Cooperation," *ibid.*, CXL (May, 1885), 411 ff.

our lifetime," but repression was not enough. He urged the need for a "wider diffusion of sound ethics" and for progress through the co-operation of "Science, the State, and the Church." He approved the efforts at reform sponsored by such organs as the *Christian Union*, as well as the program of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, and he expressed "admiration for the Knights of Labor. I believe it is a grand society, but I dissent from some of its principles. . . ." His advice to workingmen was to avoid drink, demagoguery, and "political partyism," and to look to churchmen and Christ for guidance, for "Christ and all Christly people are with you for the right."³⁶

In a strange mixture of nationalism, racialism, and religious reformism, Reverend Josiah Strong, secretary of the American Home Mission Society, analyzed the many perils of the nation in 1885, including among them both socialism and mammonism, and in a concluding chapter on "Money and the Kingdom," he called for the Christian use of money, since "money is power in the concrete. It commands learning, skill, experience, wisdom, talent, influence, numbers," and it was necessary, therefore, to "Christianize the money power."³⁷ Reverend J. H. Wayland addressed the New York Charity Organization Society in 1886 on "The Old Charity and the New" and developed the rather startling theme that the latter, "pursuing its quest for the causes of poverty outside the poor, . . . finds itself confronted with the relations of employer and employed. At the head of its alphabet come the letters that spell the word *Justice*. . . . This giving of what is just and equal would do away very largely with the need of what we call charity."³⁸

In another, more practical sense, the "New Charity" was developing into a combination of science and sentiment, of "economic method and supra-economic impulse." The waxing problems of urban relief, accentuated in years of severe depression, had produced periodic waves of "soup-houses" and diverse "Societies for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor," which "sank into the sea of almsgiving." Coupled with the growth of public grants for outdoor relief, the total cost of charity in New York City alone exceeded five million dollars by 1882, and nearly another million and a half in Brooklyn. This brought forth the complaint by Mrs. Josephine Lowell, a pioneer figure in the professional social welfare field, that "too diffuse and gratuitous charity works evil rather than good." Pressure became particularly strong

³⁶ Richard T. Ely, *Recent American Socialism* (New York, 1885), pp. 61 ff.; also Ely, *The Labor Movement in America* (New York, 1886), pp. vii ff.; and *Social Aspects of Christianity* (New York, 1889), *passim*; Sidney Fine, "R. T. Ely, Forerunner of Progressivism," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXVII (March, 1951), 599 ff.

³⁷ Josiah Strong, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis* (New York, 1886), pp. 85 ff., 118, 181.

³⁸ Quoted in Frank D. Watson, *The Charity Organization Movement* (New York, 1922), p. 277.

for the curtailment or elimination of public outdoor relief, and the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity protested in 1885 that "Experience proves that the public money voted for such relief is often wasted and sometimes stolen. Even when dispensed by honest officials it aggravates the evil it is presumed to relieve. Outdoor relief is always a strong temptation to imposture. Its effect on taxpayers is misleading, for they suppose their duty to the needy is discharged when they have paid their tax bills." There was equal objection to the chaotic and indiscriminate forms of private charity, as represented by the advertised distribution of "Bread for the Hungry" on the steps of the New York City Hall, which brought out a milling crowd of women and children, or as in the case of the well-established Philadelphia soup-houses, which traditionally dispensed "free soup and bread daily during ten or twelve weeks each year," by which "the evils of pauperism are largely engendered or perpetuated." Above all there was the chaos of an "armed neutrality" prevailing among the numerous separate agencies in a city like Philadelphia.³⁹

The chief corrective offered lay in the Charity Organization Societies, which had made their appearance during the depression of the 1870's. By 1883 there were twenty-five such societies, and the number more than doubled in the next decade, including the principal cities. In 1886 the movement acquired a national organ in the establishment of *Lend a Hand*, as a monthly "Journal of Organized Charity," under the editorship of Edward Everett Hale. At times derided as societies "for the suppression of benevolence," these organizations were, nevertheless, lauded for their systematic co-ordination of relief activities; and it was argued that all funds were used for the "benefit of the poor," even where half the money was admittedly spent for administration, in order to prevent pauperism. Among their major efforts they sponsored the work-test for relief and promoted the establishment of laundries, woodyards, workrooms, loan societies, as well as wayfarers' lodges for homeless men, to replace the more usual resort to the cells and cellars of police stations, especially in winters of severe unemployment.⁴⁰

In 1883 the New York Charity Organization Society canvassed labor opportunities for the able-bodied unemployed by correspondence with other agencies throughout the country but found few openings except for those

³⁹ New York *Herald*, Dec. 30, 1883; Amos Warner, *American Charities* (New York, 1894), pp. 372 ff.; Watson, pp. 87 ff., 283; Leah H. Feder, *Unemployment Relief in Periods of Depression* (New York, 1936), p. 46; *Third Annual Report of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity* (Philadelphia, 1881), pp. 15 ff.

⁴⁰ *Eighth Annual Report of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity* (Philadelphia, 1886), *passim*; *Second Annual Report of the Charity Organization Society of New York City* (New York, 1884), pp. 10 ff.; *Lend a Hand* (1886), I, *passim*; Watson, p. 225.

"rough and ready hands willing to brave the toils and privations of frontier life" in the Far West and Southwest. It discovered few willing to leave the city, "especially if they have had a taste of the poison of unearned bread," but it stressed the need of a "society or bureau, designed to bring work and workers together." By 1886 both the Cleveland and the Minneapolis societies had established employment bureaus. In New York, however, the labor commissioner described the sad plight of the unemployed as the victims of private employment agency abuses and reported that "In many trades, particularly where there are no unions, the out-of-work members float quietly upon the surface, and but few know or care how they exist. They may get one day, or two days', or three days' work a week, or none at all. . . . Many, far too many are forced into the saloons, where they are expected to be found when wanted."⁴¹

The new "scientific" principles and policies of charity organization and restriction combined with the relatively moderate and modest scope of the depression during the 1880's to keep the relief activities within their limited and prescribed channels. Certainly there was no such pressure of unemployment and distress as was to burst the bounds of organized charity during the crucial winter of 1893-1894, and produce a new wave of relief agitation and activity. During the 1880's, both the New York and Boston Charity Organization Societies arrived at a similar figure of fifty-two per cent among their relief applications as needing work rather than relief; between a fifth and a fourth were "worthy of temporary relief," and some seventeen per cent were "unworthy of relief." In 1886, the long-established New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor congratulated itself that the demands upon it had been moderate, and summarized "the influences that had been at work. . . . Our machinery for sifting the wheat from the chaff has had a broad effect in deterring many . . . ; only those who have a strong case are privileged to become our clients. . . . Of course it is well known that the Association never knowingly aids persons refusing work."⁴²

As if to compensate for the tightened theories and practices of relief, the reportedly materialistic and callous character of the gilded age was considerably leavened by a substantial volume of contemporary criticism and reformism, much of it frankly idealistic and utopian. This preoccupation with remedies and reforms in part stemmed from the deep roots of recurring

⁴¹ *Fourth Annual Report of the New York State Bureau of Labor Statistics*, pp. 25 ff.; *Second Annual Report of the New York City Charity Organization*, pp. 21, 46; Watson, p. 226.

⁴² *Forty-Third Annual Report of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor* (1886), p. 13; *Fourth Annual Report of the New York Charity Organization Society* (1886), p. 19; *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity* (1894), p. 7.

depression since 1873; but the common denominator underlying much of it was the persistent quest for acceptable and practicable American solutions rather than an alien and socialistic program. The conservative John Hay and Henry Adams were, to be sure, reinforced in their pessimistic tendencies and turned to anonymous fiction during the 1880's, the former in *The Bread-winners* and the latter in *Democracy*, to depict the patterns of business, labor, and political corruption. Liberal opinion, however, was confirmed in its traditional optimism, despite depression, and intensified the purposeful if critical examination of the social scene. Even Andrew Carnegie, the articulate titan of industry, was eager to develop an apologetic rationale of the status quo, extolling the partnership of capital and labor and the achievements of "Triumphant Democracy," while also admitting the claims of unionism, collective bargaining, and arbitration. In 1884 it was reported that "hardly a novel is published without its little contribution to the literature of the social problem, hardly an issue of a newspaper but has its leader on some phase of what, as the world is coming to feel, is the greatest of all questions, or some lamentation over the threatening revolution."⁴³

One special variety of this literature was the economic and utopian novel, of which numerous examples appeared in the two decades after 1880. Among them were businessmen's utopias, religious and humanitarian utopias, technocratic and theocratic utopias, and even a satiric utopia ridiculing the absurdities of these American dreams; only a few of the whole number could be described as strictly socialistic in intent.⁴⁴ Best known and most influential in this utopian flood was, of course, *Looking Backward*, first published in 1888, by Edward Bellamy, son of a New England minister and journalist by occupation. Already in 1879 he had serialized for the press the *Duke of Stockbridge*, a historical novel of class conflict in an earlier period of depression, dealing with Shays' Rebellion of 1786. In *Looking Backward*, he turned prophet and pictured the one "Great Trust" as the logical outgrowth of the current "Epoch of Trusts." This promise of a nationalist utopia struck an immediate popular response, and appealed particularly to middle-class reformers. It inspired moreover a nationalist movement throughout the country, and nationalist clubs sprang up after 1888 from Boston to the Pacific Coast.

⁴³ L. A. Rose, "A Bibliographical Survey of Economic and Political Writings, 1865-1900," *American Literature*, XV (January, 1944), 391, 407; Walter F. Taylor, *The Economic Novel in America* (Chapel Hill, 1942), p. 58; Boyd C. Shafer, "The American Heritage of Hope," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXVII (December, 1950), 427 ff.; Edward C. Kirkland, *Business in the Gilded Age* (Madison, 1952), pp. 41 ff.; *Labor: Its Rights and Wrongs*, prepared under the auspices of the Knights of Labor (Washington, 1886), p. 104; *Forum*, I (April, August, 1886), 114, 538 ff.

⁴⁴ Vernon L. Parrington, *American Dreams* (Providence, 1947), pp. 176 ff.; A. Forbes, "Quest for Utopia," *Social Forces*, VI (December, 1927), 182.

Bellamy had become a household name and was indeed taking himself seriously as the source and sponsor of a program of reform which was hailed as "the American type of socialism, the new Nationalism."⁴⁵

In contrast to Bellamy's acceptance of the nationalized trust, an equally popular but sharply antagonistic criticism was voiced by Henry Demarest Lloyd, whose views were also derived from a background of journalistic experience as a financial correspondent during the depression of the 1870's. In the following decade, Lloyd publicized the monopolistic trends and activities of the new "Lords of Industry," and particularly their abusive manipulations of the railroads and railroad rates. Lloyd too contributed to the shaping of the "new conscience," and eventually expounded the dilemma of "Wealth against Commonwealth"; he insisted that following an "era of material inventions, we now need a renaissance of moral inventions. . . . Morals and values rise and fall together. If our combinations have no morals, they can have no values."⁴⁶

Still another proponent of protest and reform, distinctively American in inspiration and significantly appearing out of the West, became articulate in this period of rising agrarian depression and discontent. To the hazards and handicaps of climate and weather, tightened credit and depressed prices, and growing grievances against railroads, banks, and middlemen, was added the specter of land monopolization and the disappearing frontier. Henry George first published his epoch-making book, *Progress and Poverty*, in 1879, but the appeal of its program for the emancipation of both capital and labor from the burden of rent and land monopoly spread during the following decade, and by 1885, according to Ely, "tens of thousands of laborers have read *Progress and Poverty*, who never before looked between the two covers of an economic book, and its conclusions are widely accepted articles in the workman's creed."⁴⁷ Even Karl Marx, who discounted Henry George as a bourgeois imitation of the early Ricardian radicals and land reformers, and

⁴⁵ Forbes, p. 183; F. L. Greene, "American Socialism," *American Journal of Politics*, IV (April, 1894), 414, 438; J. R. Bridge, "Nationalistic Socialism," *Arena*, I (January, 1890), 153 ff., 184 ff.; Arthur E. Morgan, *Edward Bellamy* (New York, 1944), pp. 73 ff., 204 ff.; Quint, chap. III, "Bellamy Makes Socialism Respectable"; Donald D. Egbert and Stow Persons, *Socialism and American Life* (Princeton, 1952), I, 269 f. Cf. the contemporary and popular *Caesar's Column*, by the eccentric Populist, Ignatius Donnelly, depicting the producers' utopia rising ultimately from the wreckage of repeated cycles of depression.

⁴⁶ H. D. Lloyd, "The Lords of Industry," *North American Review*, CXXXVIII (June, 1884), 552; Caro Lloyd, *H. D. Lloyd* (New York, 1912), I, 59 ff.; Chester McA. Destler, *American Radicalism* (New London, Conn., 1946), pp. 134 ff.

⁴⁷ Ely, *Recent American Socialism*, p. 17; Arthur N. Young, *The Single Tax Movement in the United States* (Princeton, 1916), pp. 66 ff.; John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis, 1931), pp. 1 ff.; Hallie Farmer, "The Economic Background of Frontier Populism," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, X (March, 1924), 406 ff.; Dorfman, *Economic Mind*, III, 141.

who scoffed at his suggestion that the evils of capitalism would vanish with the appropriation of rent, nevertheless wrote his American correspondent that George's book had created a "sensation . . . among you, because it is a first, though unsuccessful effort at emancipation from orthodox political economy."⁴⁸ In 1886, Henry George became the candidate of the United Labor party for mayor of New York City, and conducted an intensive campaign in which he ran second to the Democratic winner, Abram Hewitt, and ahead of Theodore Roosevelt, the rising young Republican politician. This temporary depression-inspired fusion of radical elements disintegrated with business recovery in 1887; and the single-tax movement was divorced from the more radical labor and socialist elements and from the anti-poverty agitation headed by Father McGlynn. The short-lived vogue of land and labor or Henry George clubs provided a precedent for the nationalist clubs inspired by Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*; and both illustrated the inclination of American opinion in this period to accept novel ideas and to grasp for their practical applications, however remote or utopian.⁴⁹

The growth of landlordism and farm tenancy served as a favorite contemporary theme for doleful exposition and dire prediction. William Godwin Moody linked together the plight of the small farmer and the laborer and stressed their community of interest and policy in the breakup of large landholdings and railroad monopoly. He advised the formation of a "Central Council of representative men from leading labor organizations," to undertake a program of public education and political action, to be supported by the workers: "one dime each week, with their ballots to sustain the contributions, would be the beginning of a new era for the relief and comfort of labor."⁵⁰ In a more direct way, there was a nostalgic apprehension of the impending disappearance of free land as an outlet for discontented and depressed labor. Henry George voiced the Malthusian theme: "Our population is increasing. We have now practically reached the limit of our public domain. . . . The value of land is rising. . . . We are on the verge of an event which is, in some respects, the most important . . . since Columbus sighted land—the fencing in of the last available section of the American domain." As unemployment spread in the mills of Fall River during 1883, the Cotton Spinners' Union circularized "A Remedy for Surplus Labor" by suggesting the co-operative purchase and colonization of land by the unemployed, which

⁴⁸ Marx-Engels, *Letters to Americans*, pp. 128-29.

⁴⁹ Young, pp. 96 ff., 136; Egbert and Persons, I, 239 ff.

⁵⁰ William Godwin Moody, *Land and Labor in the United States* (New York, 1883), pp. 112 ff., 339 ff.; Roy M. Robbins, *Our Landed Heritage* (Princeton, 1942), pp. 268 ff.; *Bankers' Magazine*, LX (March, 1886), 646.

won approval as a better use of union funds than strikes. The Senate committee investigating the relations of labor and capital in 1883 received various proposals for the removal of surplus population to the interior, among others from T. A. Devyr, a veteran of the National Reform Association and the homestead agitation dating back to the 1840's. Picturing the unhappy plight of the unemployed, he repudiated Henry George's land nationalization doctrines and offered instead a modernized homestead program, under which the army engineers would lay out townships and the government would finance the settlement of workers on the land.⁵¹

The *Nation* derided the homestead "Cure for Discontent"; it pointed out that people preferred the town to the farm, and it summarized realistically the contemporary safety-valve theory:

There is doubtless always a reflex movement of population toward agriculture after a commercial or financial crisis, but the existing opportunities of getting farms are amply sufficient to create it. At best it works slowly. Men do not change their occupations by "rushes." They struggle, and hope and contrive, and wait for better times a good while before pulling up stakes and striking out for fresh woods and pastures new.

The *Nation* found occasion to comment upon a homestead bill in the Ohio legislature in 1885, "to provide against the evils resulting from periodical depression in manufacturing industries and to promote agriculture." It suggested that the lowering of duties and revival of industry would offer more immediate relief, and it argued that "briery, thistly land in Ohio is a bad place for the best farmer in existence. For a coal-and-iron man who never farmed in his life, it would be simply a sort of State poorhouse."⁵²

The impact of depression reinforced the "need for a change," which took political as well as economic form. One major change concerned "the great issue" of tariff reform. In a year-end survey of growing unemployment for 1883, the New York *Herald* warned that workers were beginning to see "the deception and delusion practiced upon them by the policy of high protection." They were gradually learning that "under a high tariff the only way the manufacturers . . . have to reduce cost of production is to cut down their people's wages." The *Nation* too quoted approvingly the ironmaster, Abram Hewitt, that "extra-protective duties merely result in over-production, and in

⁵¹ Senate Committee on Labor and Education, *Investigation of Labor and Capital* (Washington, 1885), II, 833 ff., 1337; New York *Herald*, Dec. 15, 1883; *North American Review*, CXLII (1886), 398; Lee Benson, "Background of Turner's Thesis," *Agricultural History*, XXV (1951), 62 ff.; Robbins, pp. 271 ff.; Henry N. Smith, *Virgin Land: Myth and Symbol* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), p. 251.

⁵² *Nation*, XL (June 25, 1885), 521; also XXXVII (Aug. 30, 1883), 178.

the general derangement of industry, and in consequent suffering to workmen by the loss of employment and reduction of wages.”⁵³

Tariff revision, coupled with depression-inspired appeals to workers, thus figured prominently among the issues of the presidential campaign of 1884, which resulted in Cleveland’s election. Henry Ward Beecher extolled the virtues of the workingmen and in a Wall Street mass meeting boasted of his own descent from them. The *New York Times* noted that “times have changed” since 1880. Then

business was booming. . . . Both employers and workmen were contented, and were afraid of a change for the worse. . . . That is not the present situation. Business is dull. . . . Work is irregular. . . . Wages have been largely reduced. . . . Capital is timid. . . . The workingmen as well as their employers are asking themselves why they should vote for a high-tax party when high taxes, uninterrupted for twenty years, have ended in general depression and distress.

The *Nation* rejected the Republican plea that change was dangerous and might bring on a crisis; the Republicans had no “saving grace . . . to ward off panics,” since they have already had two since 1873. Paradoxically, the *Nation* argued that Cleveland was solid and safe, while Blaine was a speculator and corruptionist. It condemned, moreover, certain “Communitic features of the Republican platform, among them its opposition to “the importation of contract labor,” and “the acquisition of large tracts of land by corporations or individuals”; all of this was a “catering to the tastes and dogmas of the Communists.”⁵⁴ Four years later, in 1888, President Cleveland, newly defeated for re-election, was still calling upon Congress for tariff revision; and he too invoked the charge of communism but in a quite different connotation. He condemned “the communism of combined wealth and capital, the outgrowth of overweening cupidity and selfishness, . . . not less dangerous than the communism of oppressed poverty and toil, which, exasperated by injustice and discontent, attacks with wild disorder the citadel of rule.”⁵⁵

In the general sense of economic contraction and social conflict arising during the 1880’s, the sentiment and agitation for the regulation and restriction of immigration gained headway. The Senate committee on labor and capital in 1883 heard protests against “imported labor,” and a proposal from John E. Morrissey of New York for “a duty attached to every imported

⁵³ *Ibid.*, XXXVIII (Jan. 3, 1883), 6; *New York Herald*, Dec. 14, 17, 24, 1883.

⁵⁴ *Nation* XXXVIII (June 26, 1884), 540; XXXIX (Oct. 16, 1884), 324; *New York Times*, Oct. 28, Nov. 1, Dec. 4, 1884.

⁵⁵ James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (20 vols., New York, 1911-16), XII, 5361.

laborer," since "the foreign element which has no real interest in the national welfare of this country has been and still is the greatest weapon in the hands of capital for crushing labor." Carroll D. Wright believed that the country could use beneficially an annual immigration of from two hundred to two hundred and fifty thousand, whereas even during the low year 1885 immigration totaled nearly four hundred thousand persons. The more optimistic Edward Atkinson, however, challenged the developing antagonism to immigration, as "almost pusillanimous to refuse a refuge to the oppressed and to the industrious and capable, for fear that the institutions of this country may suffer."⁵⁶

Even such a liberal political and business leader as Abram Hewitt, mayor of New York City, became concerned over the problem of the many millions of immigrants received but not yet assimilated into the United States in the quarter century since the outbreak of the Civil War. Hugh McCulloch, formerly a Republican Secretary of the Treasury, reviewed the "Public Questions Still Pending" in 1887, against a background of strikes and violence which made the year 1886 one of the most turbulent in American labor and social history. He condemned the contemporary pressures for relief, the confiscation of land, the attack on property, for which he held universal suffrage responsible, particularly when conferred upon the foreigners: "With the workingmen have come men who are revolutionists by nature, or who have been made such by real or fancied injustice in their lands. . . . If the Republic is to be short-lived, unrestricted manhood suffrage will be the cause." That the foreigners "with their Old World passions" were primarily accountable for the economic and social disturbances also received the sanction of that noted observer of the American scene, James Bryce, who denied that any "of the questions which now agitate the nation is a question between the rich and poor. . . . Everything that government, as the Americans understand the term, can give them, the poorer class have already. . . . Hence the poorer have had little to fight for, no grounds for disliking the well-to-do, few complaints to make against them."⁵⁷ The *Bankers' Magazine* was, however, more realistic in reporting that, even more terrible and destructive than the March gales of 1886, "have been the labor troubles which have assumed such vast and serious proportions as have never been experienced in this or any other country." This was deplorable, but "when times are bad and there

⁵⁶ E. Atkinson, "Incalculable Room for Immigrants," *Forum*, XIII (May, 1892), 370; Wright, p. 245; Senate Committee on Labor and Education, II, 1338; M. Heald, "Business Attitudes toward Immigration," *Journal of Economic History*, XIII (Summer, 1953), 291; Harry Jerome, *Migration and Business Cycles* (New York, 1926), pp. 34 f.

⁵⁷ James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (London, 1888), II, 466; David, p. 24; Thomas H. Greer, *American Social Reform Movements* (New York, 1949), pp. 38 ff.; Hugh McCulloch, *Men and Measures of Half a Century* (New York, 1888), pp. 519, 529.

is not enough commerce to keep them employed, and they are compelled to fight each other for a share of that little, then wages are reduced. Strikes are the natural outcome of this state of things.”⁵⁸

The public reaction to the strikes and social disturbances of 1886 was, in any event, vehement, if not virulent. Samuel Gompers concluded that the Haymarket bomb not only killed the Chicago policemen but also the eight-hour movement for years, “notwithstanding we had absolutely no connection with these people.” Henry Clews, English-born broker, reproachfully reminded labor that “strikes may be justifiable in other countries, but . . . not . . . in our country. The Almighty has made this country for the oppressed of other nations . . . and the hand of the laboring man should not be raised against it.” Sumner was characteristically succinct: “If we want more wages, the only way to get them is by working, not by not working.”⁵⁹ The *Nation* was at once sardonic and savage in approving the “cold lead” used by the Wisconsin militia ordered out by Governor Rusk when riots broke out in Milwaukee: “Unlike Illinois, Wisconsin has a governor to be proud of. . . . A single volley at long range showed the mob that the troops ‘meant business’, and broke the backbone of the insurrection against authority.” The fact that a Polish-born alderman in Milwaukee had protested against the use of violence by the militia prompted the *Nation* to make the cruel jibe that such behavior was “producing a rapid change of opinion about the partition of Poland.” Instead of regarding it “as a monstrous crime on the part of the three Powers which took part in it, . . . the events of the last few weeks are leading many to condemn the Powers for not having gone further and partitioned the individual Poles as well as Poland. . . .”⁶⁰

From quite a different standpoint, and for a very different purpose, Friedrich Engels too was critical of the foreign and particularly the German element and its dogmatic attitude toward the American labor movement. Hailing the exciting events of 1886 as the birth of a real working-class consciousness, Engels advised his American correspondent on the proper tactics of infiltration by fostering a kind of popular front and fusion of all radical groups, and he warned that

the Germans have not understood how to use their theory as a lever which could set the American masses in motion. . . . What is more, they learn no English on principle. . . . But from all I hear, the Knights of Labor are a real power . . . and

⁵⁸ *Bankers' Magazine*, XL (April, 1886), 786; E. B. Mittelman, “Chicago Labor in Politics,” *Journal of Political Economy*, XXVIII (May, 1920), 407 ff.

⁵⁹ David, pp. 39, 186 ff.; Commons, II, 386; Egbert and Persons, I, 238; *Harper's Weekly*, XXX (May 15, 1886), 315; *Public Opinion*, I (May 15, 1886), 83 ff.; cf. “The Chicago Anarchists of 1886,” *Century Magazine*, XLV (April, 1893), 803 ff., for an apologetic by Judge J. E. Gary.

⁶⁰ *Nation*, XLII (May 13, 1886), 391.

I think it is necessary to work inside them, to form within this still quite plastic mass a core of people who understand the movement and its aims and will therefore take over the leadership . . . when the inevitably impending breakup of the present 'order' takes place.⁶¹

From this background of social unrest and violence, there emerged a number of problems and principles which called for calm and judicious consideration, if possible. In April, 1886, President Cleveland sent to Congress a special message on labor, the first of its kind in American history, recommending legislation "upon this serious and pressing subject." The principal proposal called for the creation of a three-member commission of labor that would investigate and report to Congress on labor disputes and would offer voluntary arbitration in cases of interstate commerce, and in all other cases at the request of the state government concerned. A number of states, including Kansas, New York, and Massachusetts, had already enacted similar provisions for arbitration, a currently popular cure-all for labor troubles. The *Nation*, however, protested against Cleveland's proposed measure, as uncalled-for intervention and centralization on the part of the government, and it complained that "state rights, regarded as a code of political principles, have long since disappeared."⁶² The spreading practice of the labor boycott was reported by *Bradstreet's* in its enumeration of 237 cases during 1885 alone; and it was condemned as "a system of meddlesome tyranny. . . . But when it takes the attitude and spirit of a Malay running amuck through an innocent crowd, society must protect itself at any cost."⁶³

Richard Ely, however, deplored the prevailing trends both toward labor violence and counter-repression by reminding the country that the boycott was an old American tradition, harking back to precedents in the Revolutionary and the antislavery movements; and, while "it is a movement in the wrong direction," legal and judicial methods of prohibition were not the best or only way to correct it. Ely pointed to Bismarck's failure in using force against the German socialists, and advised that "it is a time for those men to keep quiet, who, little in heart and mind, have no better remedy for social phenomena which do not please them, than physical force. They fail absolutely to understand the age in which they live, and will involve us all in ruin, if allowed to execute their savage plans. This applies equally to men of all social classes."⁶⁴

⁶¹ Marx-Engels, *Letters to Americans*, pp. 162-63; G. E. McNeill, ed., *The Labor Movement* (Boston, 1887), pp. 308 ff.; Quint, p. 25.

⁶² *Nation*, XLII (April 29, 1886), 354; Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, XI, 4979 ff.; *Fifth Annual Report of the New York Bureau of the Statistics of Labor for 1887*, pp. 7, 703.

⁶³ *Nation*, XLI (Dec. 24, 1885), 526; Commons, II, 362.

⁶⁴ Ely, *Labor Movement in America*. pp. 295 ff., 324.

With equal relevance to the problems of the prevailing depression in 1885, Carroll Wright also appealed to the good sense of both capital and labor and recommended that proper attention be given to the reduction of working hours, arbitration, co-operation, and profit-sharing; above all, he pleaded for time and patience. He argued that

it is absurd to say that the interests of capital and labor are identical. They are no more identical than the interests of the buyer and seller. They are, however, reciprocal, and the intelligent comprehension of this reciprocal element can only be brought into the fullest play by the most complete organization, so that each party shall feel that he is an integral part of the whole establishment.

Wright elaborated upon the paradox that "none of these . . . suggested remedies can be experienced without organization, and yet organization at the present seems to constitute the chief bugbear in the public mind. The organization of capital or of the employing forces frightens the labor forces, and in return the rapid organization of the labor forces frightens capital." In this heyday of laissez-faire, Wright, nevertheless, proceeded to present the merits of organization sympathetically, admitting that "no such complete organization exists, but the wisdom of many men . . . indicates the tendency of things and these men have full faith that out of complete organization will come a better state of affairs than now exists. . . ." Such organization, he concluded, would achieve genuine freedom of contract for all, including labor.⁶⁵

The temper of the times was, however, less reasonable, and indeed hailed the disintegration of the Knights of Labor, which had mushroomed so rapidly in 1885-1886 as evidence "that reason is resuming her sway among American workingmen. The only wonder is that the madness lasted so long . . . that men who called themselves free should have voluntarily become the slaves of masters whom they did not even know, and who for the most part were professional dead beats." The failure of the labor agitation in 1886 was, moreover, received as a welcome symptom and signal of improving business conditions and return to normality: "A failure, more or less general, of the eight-hour agitation, . . . a failure of over one-half of the strikes for higher wages, . . . a general resumption of work throughout the country; a returning confidence among capitalists and investors, and a reasonable hope for a continued improvement throughout the summer."⁶⁶

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⁶⁵ Wright, pp. 286 ff.

⁶⁶ *Public Opinion*, I (May 29, June 5, 1886), 136; *Nation*, XLIII (Aug. 19, Dec. 9, 1886), 147, 469.

Afrikaner Nationalism and Apartheid*

COLIN RHYS LOVELL

SOUTH Africa is the only portion of that continent with an appreciable long-established European settlement. Unlike the European thrust into the Americas, that into southern Africa neither displaced non-Europeans nor produced large ethnic mixtures. Instead, as in New Zealand, the penetration left Europeans living alongside non-Europeans. But while New Zealand Maoris became a minority, South African Europeans remained one.¹ From this basic population fact has flowed a historic concept recently caught up in the word "apartheid," which entered Afrikaans only in the late 1930's. While the word can be translated as "apartness," significantly common usage does not make this apartness territorial or geographical. Instead the word connotes the entire complex of superior-subordinate relationships between Europeans and non-Europeans. The two concepts of territorial and social apartheid have competed in South Africa since Jan van Riebeeck's wild orange hedge between colonists and Hottentots began official support of the literal, territorial type.² When the colonists trampled the hedge, they initiated the rival frontier concept of social apartheid, which might also be termed frontier apartheid in that it was an attitude developed on the frontier, which pitted it against literal, territorial apartheid in a struggle with four stages. In each of them the frontier attitude identified itself more closely with Afrikaner nationalism and finally transferred to a larger South African nationalism, so that current usage of "apartheid" is largely social with only slight territorial connotations.

During the first stage frontier apartheid emerged and vainly sought to become official policy. Beginning with the Netherlands East India Company each regime deplored expansion with attendant expensive native wars, and also increasingly tended to view Europeans and natives as near equals. While the colony hugged the western district with its settled grain and wine growers

* Based upon a paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Chicago, December 28, 1953.

¹ As of March 31, 1953, Maoris numbered 121,172 of a total population of 2,009,506 in New Zealand. In contrast the last South African decennial census of 1946 showed that out of a total population of 11,419,349, Europeans were 20.8 per cent, and non-Europeans 79.2 per cent. Of this latter group the Bantu (natives) were 68.6 per cent, colored (mixed blood with some white strain) 8.1 per cent, and Asiatics (largely Indians) 2.5 per cent of the total population (*New Zealand Official Year Book*, 1953, p. vi; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 24, pp. 1078-79).

² George McCall Theal, *History of South Africa* (11 vols., pub. under various titles with internal volume designations, London, 1907-11), III, 54, 69-72.

of the Cape Peninsula and Berg River Valley, frontier attitudes were slight. Converted natives were deemed equal with Europeans, and it was in this time and place that the only appreciable racial mixing occurred to form the basis of the Cape colored people,³ so that henceforth in South Africa "colored" meant persons of mixed ethnic strains with some white blood.

With the second quarter of the eighteenth century Europeans moved into the frontier eastern district, where constant friction with natives made Europeans, acutely conscious of being a minority, develop frontier, social apartheid attitudes. Frontiersmen, whether of the eastern district of South Africa or of the Dakotas, never thought highly of aboriginal "rights," particularly those to land. As they trekked eastward, Cape Boers became stockmen, who like their Wyoming counterparts demanded "Land, lots of land underneath the starry sky" and refused to be "fenced-in" to anything less than 6,000 acres, even while their Roman-Dutch law with its principle of male *partage* reduced individual holdings each generation.⁴ As they moved, trekkers either exterminated or drove the Bushmen into the Kalahari. But the Hottentots, unlike the Sioux, were useful as indentured labor. Trekker land and labor needs combined with typical frontier friction to produce frontier, social apartheid, for which the patriarchal, Calvinistic Boer found scriptural sanction in the relegation of the sons of the unfortunate Ham to servant status. Frontier apartheid was social, connotative apartheid by its meaning "superior" Europeans living among "inferior" non-Europeans with overriding rights to their land and labor. The existence of slavery in the Cape was only incidental in the formation of this frontier attitude; because the great bulk of slaves, and those mostly from the East Indies, were in the settled western district.⁵ In the eastern district stockmen with few slaves but many indentured servants pressed eastward until in 1778 at the Fish River they met the Bantu invaders from the north. When trekkers named these Bantu "kaffirs," derived from an Arab word for inferior unbelievers, they gave notice of their intention to apply frontier apartheid to these rivals.

At this point trekkers became incipient Afrikaner nationalists. The potentials for nationalism in group self-sufficiency, language—the formal Dutch

³ Johannes S. Marais, *The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937* (London, 1939), chaps. 1 and 11; William M. Macmillan, *The Cape Colour Question: An Historical Survey* (Cape Town, 1927), chap. 1.

⁴ This major cause of land hunger endured in Natal until 1862, the Cape until 1874, and the Orange Free State and Transvaal until 1901 and 1902 during their crown colony administration.

⁵ Slavery had existed since the earliest days of the colony, but it became the labor base for the West only after 1717. In 1798, 80 per cent of the colony's 25,000 slaves were in the Cape Peninsula, including Cape Town, and the Stellenbosch area (J. Holland Rose, *et. al.*, eds., *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, VIII, *South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Protectorates* [Cambridge, 1936], 163).

had become a patois on the frontier—and indifference to a distant authority in Cape Town, were now stimulated into an active attitude by twin challenges. One came from ahead, the Bantu, who were willing to contest the crossing; the other came from behind, the government, which for reasons of economy was not, and ended colonial territory at the Fish.⁶ The trekkers, strung out from Hottentots Holland to the Fish, as a minority group gave a particularly vigorous response to challenges to values which they felt alone guaranteed their group identity. The Bantu challenge meant a reaction of hostile Boer nationalism toward them. But the trekkers were also frontiersmen, who, typical of their class, at best had no love for central authority. When that authority did not support them, they were disappointed. When it went further in challenging their values in the late eighteenth century by cautious nibbling at theoretical black-white equality, including mild approval of mission institutions, or land reserves, for Hottentots, they were outraged at government for endangering both their group identity and their labor supply. Their negative, hostile nationalism was therefore also directed toward that government. With a negative nationalism pointed toward adversaries at fore and rear, trekkers had to look inwardly upon themselves as the only sure protectors of frontier apartheid values. When the government sent Honoratus C. Maynier with official policy to the frontier in 1795, there was an explosion which cast up the republics of Graaff-Reinet and Swellendam to safeguard frontier values. The overshadowing of the protest by the coincidental first British occupation of the Cape and its almost exact repetition six years later by the transfer of the colony to the Batavian Republic made many forget the violent frontier reaction to official challenges to its attitudes.⁷

The first British and Batavian regimes were too brief for definite official policy. With the second British occupation in 1806 official challenges to frontier values came even before the formal cession of the Cape to Great Britain in 1814. The challenges meant that frontier hostility shifted from a Dutch company to a British imperial authority when it became amenable to missionary-humanitarian pressures. But these pressures, and so challenges, were not immediate. The termination of the slave trade in 1808 did not excite the western slavocracy, which had long ceased to depend upon importation, and had still less meaning for eastern grazers, who in 1809 approved the methods of the "Caledon Code" for regulating Hottentot labor supply. The code's

⁶ Eric A. Walker, *History of South Africa* (London, 1947), pp. 120–21; William M. Macmillan, *Bantu, Boer, and Briton: The Making of the South African Native Problem* (London, 1929), pp. 27–28.

⁷ Events of the twin upheavals may be found in *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, VIII, 162, 187. An excellent account of the first rising is Johannes S. Marais, *Maynier and the First Boer Republic* (Cape Town, 1944).

requirement of a one-year maximum for labor contracts was a minor nuisance when set against the assurance that such contracts would always be made by virtue of the provision that Hottentots must have a fixed residence registered with a landdrost, who would grant passes for their movement *unless* they were under such a contract.⁸

The code proved to be the last concession to the frontier by official policy, because missionaries, wearied of rebuffs by Cape Town officials, turned to an imperial government much more vulnerable to their pressure. The result of this shift in pressure points was almost immediate. In 1811 the imperial government ordered justices on the Cape eastern circuit to inquire into missionary charges of Boer mistreatment of Hottentot servants.⁹ Beginning with the famous "Black Circuit" of 1812 and for several years thereafter, outraged, patriarchal Boers journeyed to distant courts to justify their conduct toward servants. Consistent exoneration by Dutch-speaking justices did not soothe these farmers, who saw in the entire affair official support of *gelykstelling*, "equalization," which came to mean treating blacks and whites alike for all purposes. Yet when some hotheads tried the solution of 1795, they found its futility in the tragedy of Slagter's Nek. That Boer commandos crushed their rising and that their ringleaders were tried under Roman-Dutch law before Dutch-speaking justices, who condemned six to die, did not prevent their canonization by later generations as martyrs for Afrikanerism.¹⁰

With formal cession of the colony to Great Britain in 1814, as a territory not yet having an elected assembly, the Cape had legislation by imperial orders-in-council or by ordinances proclaimed by the governor on instructions from the Colonial Office.¹¹ The latter method extended the Trinidad slave code with its slave registers, punishment books, and protectors to the Cape; but again this affected the western more than the eastern district, from which most of the later trekkers left. In 1826 the Nineteenth Ordinance, permitting slave testimony against masters in criminal cases,¹² jolted Europeans, less because the evidence would be slave than that it would be colored, and as such further evidence of an official *gelykstelling* policy. Two years later

⁸ *Cambridge Hist. Brit. Empire*, VIII, 280-81. Named after the governor, the earl of Caledon, in obvious imitation of the Clarendon Code, these regulations with modifications were in force until 1828.

⁹ Sir George E. Cory, *The Rise of South Africa* (3 vols., London, 1910-12), I, 208-10.

¹⁰ The best account of the affair is Hendrik C. V. Leibbrandt, ed., *The Rebellion of 1815, Generally Known as Slagter's Nek* (Cape Town, 1902). Ultimately only five leaders were hanged.

¹¹ Until 1828 a burger senate and then an "official" council advised the governor, neither with much effect. The lack of representative institutions was later a complaint from trekkers after they had reached Natal, but this seems to have been an afterthought in the light of the purposes of legislation by proclamation.

¹² G. W. Eybers, ed., *Select Constitutional Documents Illustrating South African History, 1795-1910* (London, 1910), pp. 154-55.

official territorial apartheid relaxed sufficiently to permit Bantu laborers to enter the colony. But six ordinances later gelykstelling won in the Fiftieth Ordinance of 1828,¹³ whose declaration that all free persons, regardless of color, had equal rights, including landholding, was the direct antithesis of every concept of frontier apartheid. In issuing the ordinance Cape authorities had anticipated imperial instructions,¹⁴ so that when it arrived in London for imperial approval, humanitarian elements had sanction coupled with the proviso that only the imperial government could modify the ordinance. The impact of this imperially protected ordinance upon the Cape, where non-Europeans then outnumbered Europeans two to one,¹⁵ was enormous, particularly upon the eastern frontier, some of whose grazers in the face of this denial of their basic values drifted over the Orange. Slave emancipation six years later, even with its inequitable compensation,¹⁶ did not outrage frontiersmen as much as this ordinance. Emancipation affected western farmers far more than eastern grazers. Five sixths of the colony's 39,021 slaves were held in the non-trekking West, where owners were so indifferent about emancipation that, when the time closed in 1845 for entering compensation claims, over £5,900 remained unexpended of the £1,235,401 allotted to the Cape.¹⁷ Eastern grazers with few slaves were already trekking in large numbers before the full inequity of compensation became known. The famous manifesto by Piet Retief on trekker grievances criticized emancipation only for its interposing magistrates between former owners and slaves during the apprenticeship period, a complaint in harmony with others in the declaration charging government interference in "proper" master-servant relations.¹⁸

Emancipation joined with the Fiftieth Ordinance to make both west and east demand a vagrancy law, given as one of the last proclamations of the old

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 26–28.

¹⁴ The well-known story is derived from *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 2d Series, XIX, 1694; "Cape, Papers re Aborigines, 1834," *British Parliamentary Papers*, 1835, XXXIX, H.C. Sess. P. No. 252, p. 34.

¹⁵ Macmillan has evaluated the official permission for entrance of Bantu workers into the colony with its then population ratio in *Bantu, Boer, and Briton*, pp. 2, 66; and the reasons for imperial protection of the Fiftieth Ordinance in *Cape Colour Question*, p. 219.

¹⁶ 3 & 4 Wm. IV, cap. 73. Passed in 1833, the law went into effect at the Cape December 1, 1834, when all slaves began a four-year apprenticeship to former masters so that complete emancipation would come December 1, 1838. A commission set the value of Cape slaves at £3,041,290, from which the government deducted the commission's expenses, leaving only £1,235,401 for compensation to be paid in *London* partly in cash but largely in shaky 3½ per cent stock. The method had some merit for the West Indian slaveowner who either lived in England or had an agent there, but it was useless to the Cape farmer, who sold his claim for a song to some claim buyer (*Cambridge Hist. Brit. Empire*, VIII, 270; Walker, *History of South Africa*, p. 181).

¹⁷ *Cambridge Hist. Brit. Empire*, VIII, 270; Cory, *Rise of South Africa*, III, 44.

¹⁸ The manifesto appeared in the *Grahamstown Journal*, Feb. 2, 1837. The editor of this frontier paper later declared that trekker dissatisfaction had reached the point of rebellion had not the "outlet to the north and east . . . been a safety-valve [sic!]." (Quoted in C. F. J. Muller, *Die Britse Owerheid en die Groot Trek* [Cape Town, 1948], p. 88.)

regime in 1834.¹⁹ At its first meeting later that year the nominated legislative council, even as humanitarians had feared, repassed the proclamation as an ordinance permitting any official to send vagrants to public works unless they gave security against further wandering (obviously impossible for Hottentots) or made a labor contract (the certain alternative). Governor Sir Benjamin D'Urban withheld assent; and the Colonial Office upheld him, because the measure contravened the imperially entrenched Fiftieth Ordinance.²⁰ The failure of the vagrancy law shocked the frontier, where field cornets had been arresting non-Europeans under its provisions, so certain had they been of imperial approval.²¹ When the Colonial Office, adhering to a literal, territorial apartheid policy, now reinforced by missionary gelykstelling, late in 1835 ordered the retrocession of the recently annexed Queen Adelaide Province,²² frontier stockmen were bitter against a government over which they had no control and whose policies denied their basic values. As between accepting defeat and leaving the colony, the choice was inevitable. Previous migration swelled into the Great Trek, which from 1836 to 1843 took 12,000 Boers out of the colony.²³

The Great Trek is properly considered a manifestation of Afrikaner nationalism, whose long latency was now transformed into a dynamic force by frontier hatred of official native policy.²⁴ Undoubtedly the government effort in 1828 to make English the sole official language irritated some Boers; but it meant very little to frontiersmen, most of whose experience with government was with men speaking their own Taal and who continued to see official notices in both English and Dutch.²⁵ Land hunger was a much larger cause of the trek. Stockmen disliked regulations in 1813 requiring title regis-

¹⁹ "Papers re Native Inhabitants," *Brit. Parl. Pap.*, 1835, XXXIX, H.C. Sess. P. No. 252, p. 7.

²⁰ Muller, *Britse Owerheid*, p. 49; "Report of the Aborigines Committee," *Brit. Parl. Pap.*, 1836, VII, H.C. Sess. P. No. 238, pp. 723-25. Although Lord Aberdeen was Colonial Secretary, behind him was the powerful legal counsellor and later permanent undersecretary of the Colonial Office, (Sir) James Stephen, strongly Evangelical and an expert at seeing the real purposes of colonial laws.

²¹ Walker, *History of South Africa*, p. 181, n. 1.

²² Between the Keiskamma and Kei Rivers. The territory between the Fish and Kei had been declared neutral in 1819, but stockmen had soon entered this zone. Lord Glenelg, Colonial Secretary, wrote his famous dispatch ordering retrocession on December 26, 1835, but naturally the Cape did not learn of his action until 1836. Although severely criticized for his action, Glenelg in his dispatch actually gave D'Urban an opportunity to justify the annexation, which the governor did not take. This is clear from "Correspondence re Kaffir War and the Death of Hintsas, 1835-1836," *Brit. Parl. Pap.*, 1836, XXXIX, H.C. Sess. P. No. 279; and "Further Reports of the Aborigines Committee," *ibid.*, 1837, VII, H.C. Sess. P. No. 503.

²³ Eric A. Walker, *The Great Trek* (London, 1934), p. 6.

²⁴ This is the major conclusion by Muller in *Britse Owerheid*, esp. chaps. II, III, and p. 292. Macmillan makes this his theme in *Bantu, Boer, and Briton*.

²⁵ Eybers, *Constitutional Documents*, p. 23; George Denoon, "The Introduction of English as the Official Language of the Cape," *South African Law Journal*, LXX (August, 1953), 90-93; Walker, *History of South Africa*, p. 169.

tration and transforming the frontier conventional 6,000-acre minimum into the official legal individual maximum. But the frontier could ignore such regulations. Even the 1832 rule that crown lands should be sold at auction with a high minimum price²⁶ did not bother the border grazer so long as he could easily move to new land. But by the 1830's frontier outward movement was encountering increasingly strong resistance from well-organized Bantu tribes. The result was that issues of land and native policy became completely tangled.²⁷

What happened in 1836 was that a solution of a very pressing problem of peculiar sensitivity for the frontier—land—had been reached by applying a typical frontier method—conquest and annexation of the territories of “inferior” people. That solution was reversed by a distant authority in terms of a policy—gelykstelling—which was anathema to the frontier, whose antipathy toward the policy inevitably enlarged to include the authority applying it. With this stimulus of irritation, elements of nationalism which were already stirring suddenly fused into an active nationalism with the negativism typical of all nascent nationalisms in its being directed primarily against some authority rather than deriving strength from within itself.

Trekker complaints said little about emancipation or even land hunger and still less about language. The gravamen of their charges was that government's attitude that Europeans and non-Europeans were the same endangered the very existence of frontier Europeans. Retief had clashed with Civil Commissioner Andries Stockenström on this very issue and had lost his field cornetcy. Those on the scene, such as P. J. Swanepoel, a frontier magistrate, believed that fear of enforced racial equality was the major reason for the exodus.²⁸ Nor was it accidental that the most scathing attack on official gelykstelling as “un-Christian” and “contrary to the law of God and natural subordination by birth and faith” came from Anna Steenkamp,²⁹ because frontier women even more than men hated a policy which made black servants their equals.³⁰ Retief's manifesto neatly summed up trekker thought: while they were opposed to slavery, they demanded “proper” master-servant relations; and they were going where they could have them.³¹

The question of the second period, a bare seventeen years, was whether frontier apartheid concepts would be permitted outside the Cape. The 1836

²⁶ Paul Knaplund, *The British Empire, 1815-1939* (London, 1942), p. 23.

²⁷ Walker nearly equates frontier land hunger with frontier dislike of official native policy in his *Great Trek* as its basic cause.

²⁸ Macmillan, *Bantu, Boer, and Briton*, p. 169; Muller, *Britse Owerheid*, pp. 62, 70.

²⁹ *Dagboek van Anna Steenkamp*, p. 10, as quoted in Muller, *Britse Owerheid*, p. 59.

³⁰ John Bird, comp., *Annals of Natal* (2 vols., London, 1888), I, 459.

³¹ Muller, *Britse Owerheid*, p. 69.

Cape of Good Hope Punishment Act³² was a feeble negative. Its provisions for the return to the colony for trial of persons charged with crimes beyond its borders up to 25 degrees south was utter fatuity with enforcement dependent upon chiefs in treaty buffer states, the official literal apartheid alternative to annexation, which the trek was rendering nugatory. Simultaneously the trek was transforming the Boer into the Afrikaner. By hurling European settlement far beyond its normal limits of expansion, the trek both accentuated the minority status of Europeans and intensified their previous friction with non-Europeans by bringing trekkers into conflict with some of the most warlike Bantu tribes, particularly the Zulu. The result was a series of savage native wars down into the twentieth century when, in 1906, a Zulu rising rocked Natal. The long conflict underlined previous attitudes of frontier apartheid to make it the hallmark of the Afrikaner. Modern expressions of South African nationalism such as Dingaan's Day and the Pretoria Voortrekker Monument, both with overtones of a narrower Afrikanerism, relate to that conflict and reinforce frontier attitudes in the modern scene.³³

The trekker Republic of Natal gave Europeans superior rights to land, while guaranteeing labor via the principle of the abortive 1834 vagrancy ordinance and the famous *plakker's wet* limiting farmers to five native squatter families.³⁴ This system appeared doomed with the British annexation in 1843, and these Afrikaners trekked again, this time into an interior with less than thirty inches annual rainfall, and so remained cattle grazers.³⁵ But although official instructions would have carried gelykstelling with the Jack, frontier facts said otherwise in British Natal, where the Shepstone system was total apartheid between 20,000 Bantu on reserves and 6,000 Europeans, mostly British, who, entering in the Boers' wake, echoed their demands for native land and labor.³⁶

The British annexation of the Orange River Sovereignty in 1848 did not affect frontier native policy, unless the 1849 Warden line between European and Basuto lands can be termed an effort at territorial apartheid. The silence on native policy in the Sand River and Bloemfontein Conventions of 1852 and 1854 left to Transvaal and Orange Free State grazers their traditional

³² 6 & 7 Wm. IV, cap. 57.

³³ Inevitably Malan Nationalists used this feeling for political purposes. In 1938 their efforts to make political capital out of the cornerstone laying of the Voortrekker Monument so incensed Prime Minister Hertzog that he refused to attend. The Malan government brought the monument to completion and used its dedication in 1950 to generate a surge of Afrikanerism, although the official souvenir of the dedication, *Die Gelofte* (Pretoria, 1950), was tetralingual: Afrikaans, English, German, and French, as the major European languages in South African history.

³⁴ Bird, *Annals of Natal*, I, 627.

³⁵ Cornelis W. de Kiewiet, *A History of South Africa* (Oxford, 1941), p. 285.

³⁶ "Correspondence re Natal," *Brit. Parl. Pap.*, 1847-48, XLIII, H.C. Sess. P. No. 980, pp. 131-41; Bird, *Annals of Natal*, I, 87, 103; II, 140-47; Walker, *History of South Africa*, p. 284.

policy.³⁷ Frontier conditions had entrenched frontier, social apartheid outside the Cape.

The Cape meanwhile moved away from the rest of South Africa with its famous franchise based upon property, not color. The principle, appearing in the 1836 municipal ordinance and extended to Cape Town government in 1839 and 1840,³⁸ was accepted by Europeans who had not been sufficiently bitter about gelykstelling to trek. Furthermore, in 1841 they were satisfied by a master and servant law whose silence on color won it imperial approval but which had the practical effect of repealing the Fiftieth Ordinance.³⁹ Although Cape Europeans were then outnumbered five to four by non-Europeans, they continued this principle in their locally drafted new constitution with its colorless, property franchise.⁴⁰ First used to elect both houses of the Cape parliament in 1854, the franchise did not result in native swamping as some, particularly in the eastern province, had feared. Few non-Europeans could meet either the requirement of occupation of premises of £25 annual value, or the alternative of £50 annual wages, or even that of £25 annual wages with keep. While keeping a fifth of adult European males from the ballot, these qualifications barred a much larger fraction of non-Europeans, even in the west where they were more advanced. Although any franchiseholder might sit in the assembly, no non-European ever did; and the additional requirement for the legislative council of ownership of immovables of £2,000 or movables of £4,000 clear annual value meant a European monopoly of the upper chamber.⁴¹ Nevertheless, the inclusion of non-Europeans among Cape voters precluded its having pass and vagrancy laws, the instrumentalities of frontier apartheid. And so the second stage closed in 1854 with the characteristic of the third, literal apartheid with elements of gelykstelling holding the Cape and frontier, social apartheid the rest of South Africa.

Emphatically the division was not between British colonies and Boer republics. Natal, where by 1853 the Shepstone system separated a swollen Bantu population of 150,000 from 8,000 Europeans, differed essentially from the republics only in having native reserves.⁴² In 1856 Natalians resented an imperially imposed color-blind franchise for a partially elected legislative

³⁷ Eybers, *Constitutional Documents*, pp. 282-85, 358-59; Muller, *Britse Owerheid*, p. 286.

³⁸ *Cambridge Hist. Brit. Empire*, VIII, 363.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

⁴⁰ "Cape, Correspondence re Establishment of Representative Government, 1848-1850," *Brit. Parl. Pap.*, 1850, XXXVIII, Cds. 1137, 1234; "South Africa, Correspondence re Constitutional Ordinances," *ibid.*, 1852-53, LXVI, Cds. 1581, 1636; "Cape, Debates, Petitions re Constitutional Ordinances, 1852-1853," *ibid.*, 1852-53, LXVI, H.C. Sess. P. No. 130.

⁴¹ "South Africa, Constitutional Ordinances, 1853," *Brit. Parl. Pap.*, 1852-53, LXVI, Cd. 1640; *Cambridge Hist. Brit. Empire*, VIII, 378-79.

⁴² "Correspondence re Natal," *Brit. Parl. Pap.*, 1852-53, LXII, H.C. Sess. P. No. 1697, pp. 20-25; Edgar H. Brookes, *History of Native Policy in South Africa from 1830 to the Present Day* (Cape Town, 1924), pp. 45-54.

council and its obligation to appropriate £5,000 annually for native development.⁴³ Within a decade the legislative council had rigged the former to bar non-Europeans and was ignoring the latter. Laws of 1864 and 1865 exempted a Bantu from native law and permitted him to vote if he lived in a European manner. But his way to the polls was filled with tests, and the ultimate decision was at the sole discretion of the lieutenant governor with the result that very few Natal natives voted. Such a situation was inevitable in a colony where as late as 1873 280,000 natives faced 18,000 Europeans, who rejoiced in 1875 to see Bantu brought under European criminal law.⁴⁴

With reserves thwarting British sugar and tea planter demands for cheap labor, in 1856 a reluctant imperial government permitted the use of indentured Indians. A generation later Natalians rued the day they had come, because upon expiration of indenture they invariably preferred the option of free crown land in Natal to a return passage. By 1904 they outnumbered Natal Europeans,⁴⁵ who in the face of severe Indian commercial competition insisted that a self-governing colony, which Natal had become in 1893, could regulate non-Europeans freely. The Natal parliament loaded its franchise by giving it to Europeans either owning property of £50 clear annual value, or renting property of £10 annual value, or receiving £96 annual wages. A non-European meeting one of these requirements then had to satisfy the criteria of European civilization in the 1864 and 1865 laws. Indians, as persons born in or descended from males born in a country without parliamentary institutions as of 1896, required a special certificate from the lieutenant governor before voting. The result was a negligible non-European vote.⁴⁶

The republics placed European supremacy in their fundamental law. The Orange Free State in the first article of its constitution limited citizenship and landownership to Europeans, whose land and labor supply was guaranteed by reserving only 1/250 of the former for natives outnumbering Europeans three to one. The ease of applying frontier apartheid, particularly after the Basuto came under imperial protection in 1868, proved its validity to Free Staters, who looked at Natal's Indian problem and barred Asiatics from their republic.⁴⁷ The trekkers from Natal into the Transvaal in 1844 expressed

⁴³ Eybers, *Constitutional Documents*, p. 188.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 194; *Cambridge Hist. Brit. Empire*, VIII, 498; Brookes, *History of Native Policy*, p. 65.

⁴⁵ In 1904 Natal had 100,918 Asiatics (almost entirely Indians) and 97,109 Europeans. Not until 1936 would Europeans outnumber Asiatics in Natal, 190,549 to 183,661 (*Year Book*, No. 24, p. 1080).

⁴⁶ How negligible was clear in the post-Union period where from 1929 to 1945 exactly 1 Natal native was on the common roll and the Indians on it fell from 12 to 2. After 1945 neither group had persons on the general register (*Year Book*, No. 24, p. 101).

⁴⁷ G. D. Scholte, *Die Konstitusie en die Staatsinstellings van die Oranje-Vrystaat, 1854-1902* (Amsterdam, 1936), Appendix One, p. 1; Macmillan, *Bantu, Boer, and Briton*, p. 305; Walker, *History of South Africa*, p. 523. The prohibition against Indians has continued in the Free State to the present.

their ideas forcibly in the Thirty-Three Articles, where they extended the meaning of "bastard," hitherto denoting mixed bloods generally and Griquas specifically, to cover all non-Europeans, who were barred from their councils. Twelve years later the Rustenburg Grondwet, by 1860 the constitution of the South African Republic, likewise enlarged the meaning of "colored" to include all non-Europeans, when it declared that although the gospel might be spread under "proper supervision," "The people desire to permit no equality between colored people and the white inhabitants either in church or state." Only Europeans could be citizens, and natives fell under military administration.⁴⁸ Strong tribes received treaties recognizing their chiefs but requiring them to furnish labor; weak tribes simply lost their land.⁴⁹ This typically frontier Transvaal policy survived the British interlude of 1877-1881. Not until its close did Henrique Shepstone introduce his father's Natal policy with plans for large reserves and a native affairs department.⁵⁰ The retrocession of the Transvaal doomed the plan as part of the British regime. Since the Pretoria Convention placed Transvaal native policy under British suzerainty,⁵¹ the Volksraad ignored the subject until the London Convention in 1884 ended imperial control over native legislation and permitted the South African Republic to treat natives differently from other men.⁵² Then a law made a gesture toward the Natal system but without implementation in the face of rural demands for labor, now reinforced by Rand mineowners, who wanted cheap labor and found in frontier mores the means to have it. The result was that frontier apartheid concepts became not only the labor basis for rural-agrarian economy but also now of an urban-industrial complex which was to influence all South Africa and make the Transvaal replace the Cape as its dominant section. Simultaneously, even if for opposite reasons, frontier apartheid won Uitlander mineworkers' support because of their desire to extend its concepts into industry as protection against cheap native labor, whose very contact with the mines made it at least semiskilled. With

⁴⁸ The pertinent article of the Thirty-Three Articles was VI, and those of the Rustenburg Grondwet VII, IX, CIV, and CV (Eybers, *Constitutional Documents*, pp. 350, 363-64, 408-10).

⁴⁹ Macmillan, *Bantu, Boer, and Briton*, pp. 306-10.

⁵⁰ Walker, *History of South Africa*, pp. 389-91.

⁵¹ Article III particularly but also XIII-XV, XXI-XXIII (Eybers, *Constitutional Documents*, pp. 455-63).

⁵² Article III of the Pretoria Convention was dropped from the new one, "Convention between Her Majesty, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the South African Republic," *Brit. Parl. Pap.*, 1884, LVII, Cd. 3914. However British control over the republic's treaty power (except with the Free State) in Article IV of the London Convention extended to agreements with tribes beyond Transvaal borders. The Transvaal obligation not to discriminate against British subjects, other than natives, later permitted Sir Alfred Milner as high commissioner to intervene with some success for Cape coloreds who had gone to the Rand and were being treated as natives by the Volksraad over the protests of President Paul Kruger ("Papers re Complaints British Subjects in the South African Republic," *ibid.*, 1899, LXIV, Cd. 9345, pp. 80-86).

these economically diverse European groups supporting frontier apartheid attitudes, the gulf between northern and Cape native policies widened.

The divergence had been already recognized as a barrier to South African union. Sir George Grey as Cape governor and high commissioner had seen this in the 1850's. Hope for a uniform South African native policy was one reason for Lord Carnarvon's ill-fated confederation proposals in 1875. Fear that Cape policy would be sacrificed to this uniformity was one reason for opposition to confederation by Cape Premier John Molteno.⁵³ Significantly, it was a figure in this rising northern industrialism, Cecil Rhodes, who as Cape premier with Afrikaner Bond support, tried to narrow the gap between the two native policies by moving the Cape a trifle away from gelykstelling, which more Europeans were doubting as natives returned from Kimberley and Johannesburg with cash. In 1887 he barred native communal ownership from meeting franchise qualifications, which five years later he raised drastically to keep out "blanket kaffirs." The immovable property qualification was tripled from £25 to £75; and while the £50 wage alternative was retained, that of £25 with keep was not.⁵⁴ In 1894 his Glen-Grey Act, ultimately applied to all the Transkei, was a step toward the Natal system with its native councils joined with individual native landholding for an annual quit-rent but without power to alienate to Europeans.⁵⁵

As the third period closed with the Anglo-Boer War, where both belligerents applied military apartheid to natives by sedulously refraining from arming them, frontier apartheid concepts held firm; gelykstelling was bending. This became the theme of the fourth period, when the frontier attitude, already strong in the Transvaal Rand industrial scene, swept over an increasingly industrial-urban South Africa, particularly for Europeans, three fourths of whom are now urban.⁵⁶ In its triumph frontier apartheid largely ended gelykstelling and retained only those parts of literal, territorial apartheid useful to its fundamental purpose of riveting superiority-inferiority concepts into the new socio-economic situation produced by South African industrial growth.

Frontier apartheid was in brief but grave peril with the republics' extinc-

⁵³ "Proposal for South African Conference," *Brit. Parl. Pap.*, 1875, LII, Cd. 1244; Walker, *History of South Africa*, pp. 282, 364.

⁵⁴ Eric A. Walker, *Lord de Villiers and His Times* (London, 1925), pp. 222-27; *Cambridge Hist. Brit. Empire*, VIII, 545-46.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 546.

⁵⁶ In 1904 52.9 per cent Europeans were urban; in 1946 72.5 per cent; and in 1951 74 per cent, giving a curve easily projected over the 75 per cent mark by 1954. Native urbanization although less rapid was as definite, rising between 1904 and 1946 from 15.0 per cent to 26.9 per cent. Coloreds and Asiatics are traditionally urban. During the same period urbanization of the Union's total population rose from 23.2 per cent to 36.4 per cent (*South and East African Year Book and Guide* [London, 1948], p. 150; *Union of South Africa Population Census*, May 7, 1946 [Pretoria, 1949], I, 6-7; State Information Office, *The Peoples of South Africa* [Pretoria, 1952], pp. 17, 23, 33).

tion, but it was spared when at Vereeniging in 1902 the British promised to make no franchise extension to non-Europeans in the former republics prior to self-government, a concession Milner later termed his greatest mistake.⁵⁷ Frontier apartheid was never again in danger in the new South Africa of growing industry, where European labor and management by supporting different aspects of it, together underwrote its totality. In 1905 cold hostility greeted a recommendation by the Native Affairs Commission, constituted by the Bloemfontein Intercolonial Conference in 1902 to survey South African native affairs, for native communal representation in each colony by Europeans.⁵⁸ In 1906 and 1907 the British government redeemed the pledge of Vereeniging by granting self-government to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony on an exclusively European franchise basis.⁵⁹ Behind its self-government bulwark the Transvaal, to the intense embarrassment of the imperial government and the cheers of "Imperial thinking" Natal, applied apartheid to Indians. Republican anti-Asiatic legislation, including a prohibition against Indians voting, had been sporadically enforced. Now the Botha-Smuts ministry sponsored a spate of laws aiming at Indian segregation and applied them rigorously. Despite mediation by an unhappy imperial government between stiffly correct Transvaal and Indian representatives, the basic purpose of the laws remained.⁶⁰

The extension of frontier apartheid into industry was guaranteed in 1907 with the formation of the new Labor party, whose predominantly English membership had been jolted by Chinese coolies in Rand mines after the war. After a nod toward a Fabian sort of socialism, the new party's constitution came to grips with its real purpose—jobs for Europeans. Emphasizing this purpose, the party chose as its leader no socialist but a mining engineer, Major (Colonel) F. H. P. Creswell, whose reputation rested on his having operated a mine entirely with European labor after the war.⁶¹

With every major European group, Afrikaner farmer, English urban employer and employee, supporting some aspect of frontier apartheid, its con-

⁵⁷ Article VIII, "South African War, Correspondence re Boer Terms of Surrender, 1902," *Brit. Parl. Pap.*, 1902, LXIX, Cd. 1096, p. 12; Cecil Headlam, ed., *The Milner Papers* (2 vols., London, 1931-33), II, 353.

⁵⁸ "Report of the Native Affairs Commission, 1902-1905," *Brit. Parl. Pap.*, 1905, LV, Cd. 2399, pp. 19-23.

⁵⁹ "Papers re Transvaal Constitution of 1906," *ibid.*, 1906, LXXX, Cd. 3250; "Orange River Colony, Letters Patent and Instructions for Governor, 5 June 1907," *ibid.*, 1907, LVII, Cd. 3526.

⁶⁰ "Papers re British Indians in the South African Republic, 1895," *ibid.*, 1895, LXXI, Cd. 7911; "Transvaal, Correspondence re Legislation Affecting Asiatics, 1906-1907; 1907-1908, 1908," *ibid.*, 1907, LVII, Cd. 3308; 1908, LXXIII, Cds. 3892, 4327.

⁶¹ E. Solly Sachs, *The Choice before South Africa* (New York, 1952), p. 47; W. Basil Worsfold, *The Reconstruction of the New Colonies under Lord Milner* (2 vols., London, 1913), I, 299.

cepts inevitably dominated the 1908 National Convention in drafting the future Union constitution. Hopes for an extension of the Cape franchise principle to the entire Union were dashed by the coldness of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony and the desire by Natal to abolish the Cape native vote. The best the Cape could do was to have its franchise continued as a province of the Union,⁶² with the assurance that it would be modified only by two thirds of parliamentary membership in joint session, the most famous of the "entrenched sections" of this otherwise flexible constitution for a unitary state.⁶³ The proposal by the Afrikaner Bond that this two-thirds vote include an absolute majority of the Cape joint parliamentary delegation was rejected by the convention, which felt it had done enough.⁶⁴ The basing of assembly quotas upon adult European males meant that if the Cape had the benefit of its few voteless European men, it lost that of its much larger number of non-European voters. Only Europeans could sit in parliament, and non-Europeans were eligible only for the Cape provincial council. The provision that four of the eight nominated senators should thoroughly know native affairs proved meaningless in the Union's history, every ministry naming all eight to build strength in the upper house without regard to this unenforceable requirement.⁶⁵ As J. X. Merriman sadly saw, there would be bare toler-

⁶² Section 36 of the constitution continued the several colonial franchises in the future provinces.

⁶³ There were no less than five such entrenched sections amendable only by this procedure. Two sections, 33 and 34 on initial allocation of assembly seats among provinces and the method of their increase, were entrenched for ten years or until the assembly reached 150, whichever was longer. No amendments were proposed for these sections during their entrenchment period which ended when the assembly reached 150 in 1933. Three sections were permanently entrenched: 35, itself requiring this procedure for removing any Cape voter from the roll solely by reason of race or color; 137, on English-Dutch (since 1925 deemed to include Afrikaans) bilingualism; and 152, the "entrenching section," requiring a two-thirds vote of parliamentary membership in joint session to amend either these foregoing sections or itself. In a sense, the Cape franchise was doubly entrenched by sections 35 and 152.

⁶⁴ Whether the "imperial factor" intervened for the Cape franchise is a moot point. Only the skeleton of the discussions on the Cape franchise is given in *South African National Convention: Official Minutes and Proceedings*, nor is much light shed by Sir Edgar Walton, *The Inner History of the National Convention* (Cape Town, 1912), pp. 125-27. Sir Henry (Lord) de Villiers of the Cape and president of the convention denied such intervention occurred (Walker, *Lord de Villiers*, pp. 446-49). But François S. Malan, also of the Cape and a supporter of its franchise, said flatly that the convention decision came from fear that otherwise the imperial parliament would reject the draft constitution and from hope that it would facilitate an early transfer of the imperial protectorates to the Union (Johann F. Preller, ed., *Die Konvensie-Dagboek van Edelaagbare François Stephanus Malan* [Cape Town, 1951], pp. 46, 52. I am indebted to Professor C. F. J. Muller of the history department, external studies division, University of South Africa, for calling my attention to the Malan diary and its pertinent references (Letters, Muller to Lovell, Feb. 7 and Mar. 5, 1954).

⁶⁵ Pertinent sections of the constitution were 24, 26(d), 41, 44(c), and 71. The last by making all voters capable of sitting in their respective provincial councils practically barred non-Europeans from all except that of the Cape. In 1938 Jan Hofmeyr, minister of mines, education, and social welfare, and F. C. Sturrock, without portfolio, resigned from the Hertzog United party ministry in protest against the appointment as one of these "native" senators of A. P. J. Fourie, minister of commerce and industries, who had lost his assembly seat in the recent election (*Debates of the Union Assembly*, XXXII, 2485-88, 2491-93, 2524, 2537).

ance for the Cape system in the new Union,⁶⁶ whose draft constitution, despite the efforts of W. P. Schreiner to have its color bars removed, was passed unchanged by the imperial parliament⁶⁷ under the watchful eyes of an official delegation with instructions from the convention to accept no changes of principle.⁶⁸

Frontier apartheid concepts quickly received legal recognition in the new Union, significantly first in industry, where the 1911 Mines and Works Act⁶⁹ transformed them into industrial apartheid by limiting skilled occupations to Europeans. The next year the Botha government reduced native pressure upon European labor by forbidding native labor recruitment north of 22 degrees, ostensibly for health reasons but with the significant promise that the ban would be raised only by parliament.⁷⁰ In contrast to the success of this measure, the 1913 Native Land Law,⁷¹ a genuine territorial apartheid measure, broke down before the old demands by farmers for land and labor.

Pressure upon the limited amount of arable land in the Union was partially relieved during World War I by an increase in industry, which attracted Afrikaners and natives, equally landless, to urban areas, where they competed for semiskilled jobs. Traditionally supporters of frontier apartheid norms, these newly urbanized Afrikaners had an immediate and direct interest in their application to semiskilled work, where native competitors had the advantage of being cheap labor. Labor unions and war profits persuaded employers, usually English-speaking, to accept in addition to the legal color bar protecting the jobs of 7,000 skilled workers a conventional bar for 4,000 semiskilled Europeans.⁷² Both bars operated largely on the Rand, which however set labor standards for the entire Union; but the conventional bar was more important in its greater vulnerability and its protection of people who had the most to fear from native competition and who if they lost their hold in industry would have nothing, having already fled from the land. Therefore when during the postwar slump Rand management announced its abrogation of the conventional bar and simultaneously a complacent Smuts ministry raised the ban on northern native labor by simple executive order,⁷³ semiskilled Afrikaners saw industrial gelykstelling. The reaction by Rand European labor to gelykstelling was precisely the same as by Graaff-Reinet

⁶⁶ Sir Perceval Laurence, *Life of John Xavier Merriman* (London, 1930), p. 275.

⁶⁷ As the South Africa Act, 1909 (9 Edw. VII, cap. 9).

⁶⁸ *South African National Convention: Official Minutes*, pp. 358-59.

⁶⁹ No. 12 of 1911. This and other South African laws herein mentioned may be found in *Statutes of the Union of South Africa* in the volume designated by the particular year.

⁷⁰ *Round Table*, XII (1921-22), 428-29; but see below.

⁷¹ No. 27 of 1913.

⁷² Walker, *History of South Africa*, p. 583, n. 2.

⁷³ *Round Table*, XII, 430-31; see above.

farmers in 1795—rebellion which seared the Rand in 1922.⁷⁴ The Transvaal Nationalist leader, Tielman Roos, found that his rural followers were willing to supply food to the rebels, often their relatives, in their “armed protest” against a challenge to a basic European value which had originated on a rural frontier and was now fighting to extend itself in industry.

The Smuts ministry smashed the rising,⁷⁵ and then hedged further on the color bar by issuing certificates of exemption to non-Europeans for specific work.⁷⁶ Despite its concession to apartheid in its 1923 law requiring urban native segregation and empowering the executive to order urban natives and Europeans to move to specified areas,⁷⁷ the Smuts government had doomed itself by supporting industrial gelykstelling. Fury against this policy fused English Laborites and Afrikaner Nationalists into their pact, whose pledge to save European labor swept it to victory in 1924.⁷⁸

The Hertzog pact ministry redeemed the pledge. Its 1925 wage law⁷⁹ interposed government between management and labor in negotiations on wages and conditions, except for predominantly native domestic and agricultural workers where the old “proper” master-servant relationships would continue. In the same year Natal, violently anti-pact, found it possible to secure the constitutionally required Union government approval for an ordinance removing Indians from its municipal franchise. Delayed a year by the senate, still controlled by the South African party, the all-important color bar law came in 1926. It gave legal status to the color bar for semiskilled work by greatly increasing occupations reserved for Europeans and leaving no doubt of executive ability to extend the list.⁸⁰ The next year all natives except those in the Cape became a separate civil legal community as in Natal.⁸¹ Small wonder that after these legislative applications of frontier

⁷⁴ Sarah Gertrude Millin, *General Smuts* (2 vols., Boston, 1936), II, 346–47, 350–52; *Round Table*, XII, 656–72; *London Times*, Aug. 14, 1922.

⁷⁵ In the process whitewashing itself in “Report of the Martial Law Commission,” *South African Parliamentary Papers*, 1922, U.G. 35.

⁷⁶ A practice judicially fortified by *Rex v. Hildeck Smith*, *South African Law Reports*, 1924 T.D. 69.

⁷⁷ Native (Urban Areas) Act, No. 21 of 1923.

⁷⁸ The pact won 81 of 135 assembly seats with 49 per cent of the popular vote. The Nationalists held 63 seats with 35.8 per cent of the vote and Labor 18 with 13.2 per cent. The South African party of Smuts mustered 47.5 per cent of the popular vote, but its distribution resulted in only 53 seats. One Independent, Morris Alexander, who had broken with Smuts, won a seat with pact votes.

⁷⁹ Wage Act, No. 27 of 1925.

⁸⁰ Technically the Mines and Works (1911) Amendment Act, No. 25 of 1926, the measure was passed by the assembly in 1925 but rejected by the senate. Upon its second assembly passage and senate rejection in 1926, a joint session passed the bill (*Assembly*, IV, 2864; V, 5027–28; VI, 270; *Debates of the Union Senate*, 1925, p. 762; 1926, p. 187; *Debates of the Joint Sitting of Both Houses of Parliament*, 1926, pp. 131–34).

⁸¹ Native Administration Act, No. 38 of 1927. For juridical problems in the operation of the law see Julius Lewin, *Studies in African Native Law* (Cape Town, 1947).

apartheid concepts to the industrial-urban scene that urbanized Afrikaners remained Nationalist.⁸²

The Nationalist prime minister, General J. B. M. Hertzog, was not satisfied. With grim clarity he saw the precariousness of Europeans so long as the temptation of cheap native labor lay on every hand. In 1926 he presented a plan, embodied in four bills, calling for a straight black-white division with rigid isolation between the two parts. Coloreds would be considered Europeans; and Indians, unless they left, natives. This total territorial-social apartheid program hung fire a decade, because Hertzog insisted upon its enactment *in toto* and by due process. Here lay the rub. One bill would end the Cape native franchise, entrenched in the constitution, so that South African party co-operation was essential; and that party was very tender about votes it always received. In 1929 Hertzog, looking for an election issue and knowing that the South African party was split into northern and Cape sections on two of the bills, presented them to a joint session. One replaced the Cape native vote by communal representation for all Union natives, and the other extended Cape colored rights to other provinces. The first received a small majority, far below the required two thirds; whereupon the second was dropped.⁸³ His program, however, gave the Nationalists an easy election victory in the assembly; and the subsequent senate elections left them with a clear parliamentary majority. Yet with all possible Labor support they were fourteen seats below the two-thirds mark.⁸⁴ Hoping to pick up fourteen sympathetic South African party votes, Hertzog again presented the native and colored bills in 1930 to a joint session, where he let them go to a select committee. But the committee could reach no agreement, and Hertzog withdrew the measures.⁸⁵

Hertzog did not press the issue, because he and Smuts agreed on a plan to swamp the Cape native vote by enfranchising all European women,⁸⁶ and the next year the few remaining voteless European men.⁸⁷ This eased the situation for Hertzog so that he refused to consider the formalization of

⁸² To the dismay of Labor, which had hoped for additions in strength from Afrikaner influx into industry. Only two Afrikaners have been Labor M.P.'s; one left politics, and the other, Martinus J. van den Berg, underlined the facts of South African political life by becoming a Nationalist (Sachs, *Choice before South Africa*, p. 47).

⁸³ *Joint Sitting*, 1929, pp. 259-60, 262.

⁸⁴ The Nationalists won 114,907 votes and 79 of the 148 assembly seats and could count on 8 others. The South African party had 153,398 votes but only 61 seats. By virtue of its power to name 8 senators the government controlled 25 of the 40 senate seats.

⁸⁵ *Joint Sitting*, 1930, pp. 4, 13, 15-18.

⁸⁶ No. 18 of 1930. South African party support was essential, because 34 Nationalists in the assembly and 6 in the senate opposed the bill (*Assembly*, XV, 3125-26; *Senate*, 1930, pp. 643-79).

⁸⁷ No. 41 of 1931. The law chiefly affected the Cape. Natal's property qualifications had been nominal for Europeans, and the Transvaal and Free State had always had universal European

dominion status by the Statute of Westminster as giving the Union parliament the right to end the Cape native vote by simple legislation, as some of his party urged. In 1930 he said that it would be dishonorable to use forthcoming sovereign independence as an excuse to touch any of the entrenched clauses by ordinary legislative procedure.⁸⁸ In 1931 when presenting the draft Statute of Westminster for approval prior to its enactment later that year by the British parliament,⁸⁹ he accepted an amendment by Smuts that this law would not reduce the vigor of the entrenched clauses; and parliament passed the resolution of approval in this form.⁹⁰

But by 1934 the South African party and the Nationalists were in coalition, about to move into the fusion of the United party. Smuts's men were now much less concerned about the Cape native vote, whose supporters worried about the effects upon the entrenched sections of the Status of the Union and Royal Executive Functions and Seals Acts,⁹¹ making the Union independent by its own legislation. Their fears soared with the government's Union Constitution Bill, re-enacting the entire South Africa Act. Would this subsequently permit ordinary legislation to amend the entrenched sections? The question was put to speaker E. G. Jansen,⁹² who ruled in the negative.⁹³ The ministry dropped the bill.

The Cape native franchise was only reprieved. In 1936 its few defenders headed by the Afrikaners Jan Hofmeyr and Senator François S. Malan vainly tried to stem the United party onslaught against it. Simultaneously the party held off demands by Malan Purified Nationalists that the Cape colored suffrage likewise go.⁹⁴ The resultant Native Representation Act provided that Cape natives who met property qualifications formerly required for the common roll would henceforth return three Europeans to the assembly and two to the provincial council. Other Cape natives and those in other provinces would indirectly elect the advisory native representative council and four European senators in addition to those named by the government supposedly

male suffrage. Assembly quotas continued to be based upon European adult males until 1937 when women were included (*Year Book*, No. 19, p. 118).

⁸⁸ "Report of the Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation," *Brit. Parl. Pap.*, 1929-30, XVI, Cd. 3479, esp. pp. 4, 15, 17, and 19; *Assembly*, XV, 4420-24.

⁸⁹ 22 & 23 Geo. V, cap. 4.

⁹⁰ *Assembly*, XVII, 2397-99; *Senate*, 1931, p. 485.

⁹¹ Nos. 69 and 70 of 1934.

⁹² Nationalist, sometime minister of native affairs, and a supporter of the Hertzog native program; since 1951 governor general.

⁹³ *Assembly*, XXII, 1719; XXIII, 2736. Jansen's ruling was superseded in 1951 by those of Speaker D. G. Conradie and President of the Senate C. A. van Niekerk; see below, pp. 327-28.

⁹⁴ *Joint Sitting*, Feb. 17-Apr. 7, 1936, pp. 49, 142-44, 530-31, 782, 808, 985-86, 1082-89, 1208-1209. The final vote of 169-11 was far over the required two-thirds figure of 127. Early in the session Laborite van den Berg announced his party's support of the bill.

for their knowledge of native affairs.⁹⁵ Ordinary legislation passed the Native Trust and Land Act establishing the Native Trust with power to acquire land for natives from Europeans by forced sale to the trust, which would retain title with only use given natives.⁹⁶

Frontier apartheid had what it wanted from Hertzog's program and rejected his plan for gradually extending to coloreds in the North the rights they had in the Cape, where the most vital one was the adult male suffrage based upon the old property qualifications. In the Cape, where most coloreds were concentrated and where they were the most advanced, only a fifth of adult colored males were voters. In the northern provinces with many fewer and less advanced coloreds the ratio would have been much lower. But northern frontier apartheid concepts would have none of the Colored Persons Rights Bill, which Hertzog had to drop.⁹⁷ The next year a mixed European-Colored Commission unanimously supported Hertzog's opinion that culturally coloreds were "Europeans."⁹⁸ But the United party was not interested in implementing this finding.

During the 1930's more Afrikaners entered industry to swell population in urban areas where they mixed with the English to produce the South African, neither Afrikaner nor English but a bilingual creature,⁹⁹ believing intensely in his racial supremacy and equally fearful for it. These people generally supported the Smuts war policy in 1943,¹⁰⁰ but his postwar economic and racial policies disturbed them. In 1946 they were shaken by the

⁹⁵ No. 12 of 1936, likewise entrenched by the two-thirds device. Europeans representing Cape natives by single-member districts in the assembly and provincial council did not participate in senatorial elections and had a fixed five-year term regardless of dissolutions. Four constituencies of natives in Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State, Transkei Cape, and remainder of Cape each indirectly returned 3 members to the native representative council, to which either natives or Europeans were eligible; and the government named another from each constituency. The same areas became single-member districts for the 4 senators, who unlike the nominated senators had a fixed ten-year term regardless of dissolutions.

⁹⁶ No. 18 of 1936.

⁹⁷ *Joint Sitting*, 1936, p. 49. In 1936 the Cape had 343,011 colored males, of whom 25,238 were registered voters in 1937. The ratio of one fifth between colored voters and adult males is deliberately set high by assuming that two-thirds colored males were minors. The Transvaal in 1936 had 25,713 colored males; Natal 9,390; and the Free State 9,317 (*Year Book*, No. 24, pp. 101, 1080-81).

⁹⁸ "Report of the Cape Coloured Population Commission," *South African Parl. Pap.*, 1937, U.G. 54.

⁹⁹ Between 1921 and 1946 European bilingualism rose from 50.71 per cent to 68.96 per cent; Afrikaans monolingualism declined from 23.79 per cent to 13.78 per cent; and English monolingualism from 25.16 per cent to 17.02 per cent. In the latter year the home language of Europeans found only 1.26 per cent bilingual, 39.36 per cent English, and 57.31 per cent Afrikaans, with scattered languages 2.07 per cent (*Year Book*, No. 24, pp. 1085-86). Evaluation of these figures requires some caution as language competence for census purposes is left to individual determination. Nevertheless, there is an increasing degree of practical bilingualism among Europeans.

¹⁰⁰ The antiwar Nationalists won only 43 seats, and the Afrikaner party none, the two groups together polling only 350,000 votes to the 650,000 of the Smuts coalition (United party, Labor, and Dominion), which swept 110 assembly seats.

grant to Natal and Transvaal Indians of parliamentary communal representation by Europeans and possibly by an Indian in the former's provincial council.¹⁰¹ That the grant was coupled with an absolute prohibition against further property acquisition by Indians, who therefore boycotted the franchise,¹⁰² did not ease European fears. In 1948 enough urban voters hearkened to cries by Malan Nationalists that only their apartheid would save Europeans so that with their Afrikaner party allies they won a narrow parliamentary victory.¹⁰³

Malan apartheid, although Nationalists tried to make it unique with their party, extended and elaborated traditional policies. Essentially tri-racial, European, colored, and native, with Indians lumped with the last, it tried to achieve this triple apartheid by precise legal differentiation. To the joy of Malan-hating Natal, in 1948 the never-exercised Indian franchise was abolished.¹⁰⁴ Two years later the principle of the 1923 urban native segregation law was extended by empowering the minister of the interior to order any person to move out of or into a designated area, and to facilitate the law's operation all persons were to carry identity cards stating their race.¹⁰⁵ After 1946 the Smuts government ceased to summon the native representative council. Two years later the new Malan ministry dissolved it, but new elections were not held. Instead in 1951 it was replaced by smaller native consultative bodies.¹⁰⁶

In 1951 the ministry's proposal to transfer 50,000 Cape colored voters to a separate roll to elect three Europeans to the assembly, with the government's naming one to the senate, encountered strong opposition from the United party, which needed those votes. This meant certain failure to meet the two-thirds requirement for legislation on this entrenched subject.¹⁰⁷ Undeterred, the government secured rulings from the two presiding officers that the 1934

¹⁰¹ Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, No. 28 of 1946. The 232,317 Natal and the 37,758 Transvaal Indians as a single constituency would elect 3 Europeans to the assembly, and the government would name another to the senate. Natal Indians would elect either an Indian or a European to the provincial council. No provision was made for the 15,174 Cape Indians who voted with the colored nor for the 11 illegally in the Free State (see above, p. 317). (Population figures for 1946 from *Year Book*, No. 24, pp. 1079-81.)

¹⁰² *Round Table*, XXXVI (1945-46), 289. The prohibition against Indian property acquisition was the result of "Reports of the Indian Penetration Commission," *South African Parl. Pap.*, 1941, U.G. 39; 1943, U.G. 21; 1945, U.G. 22.

¹⁰³ The coalition had a majority of 5 in the assembly, 4 deducting the speaker, and was in a minority of 140,000 popular votes. In the subsequent senate elections only the government's right to name 8 senators gave it precisely 22 of the 44 seats, so that the joint parliamentary majority of the government was 5.

¹⁰⁴ Asiatic Law Amendment Act, No. 47 of 1948.

¹⁰⁵ Group Areas and Population Registration Acts, Nos. 41 and 42 of 1950; see above, p. 323. Neither law has been fully implemented.

¹⁰⁶ Bantu Authorities Act, No. 68 of 1951.

¹⁰⁷ Sections 35 and 152 of the constitution; see above, p. 321.

constitutional changes had ended the procedural limitations of the entrenched sections,¹⁰⁸ and then had parliament use ordinary procedure to pass the bill.¹⁰⁹ Many who had no great love for the Cape colored franchise were deeply disturbed about this evasion of the constitution. While Torch Commando units paraded, more practical persons turned to the courts; and for the first time in the Union's history the appellate court struck down an act of parliament. Its unanimous decision gave judicial approval for Jansen's 1934 ruling that the entrenched clauses were still valid so that the law by being passed by normal procedure was not.¹¹⁰ Stung by the decision, the ministry countered with its High Court of Parliament Act,¹¹¹ enabling a simple parliamentary majority to override judicial invalidation of legislation, only to have the court strike down this measure also, again unanimously.¹¹²

After this second judicial rebuff Dr. Malan bowed and announced his submission of the issue to the voters in 1953.¹¹³ His assurance was well-founded. Against Nationalist "apartheid," the United party-Labor alliance's "apartheid but" was useless; and the government more than doubled its assembly majority.¹¹⁴ However, the party composition of the provincial as-

¹⁰⁸ Thereby reversing Jansen's ruling of that year; see above, p. 325.

¹⁰⁹ Separate Representation of Voters Act, No. 46 of 1951. Now governor general, Jansen gave the royal assent despite urgings that he withhold it.

¹¹⁰ *Harris and Others v. Minister of the Interior*, 1952 (2) S.A. 428 A.D. The court easily disposed of *Ndlwana v. Hofmeyr, N.O.* (1937 A.D. 229), upon which the government relied. In that decision, upholding the procedure used for the 1936 Native Representation Act, Stratford, Acting Chief Justice, had declared that since the Statute of Westminster the courts could not inquire into the constitutionality of acts of parliament. Although courts have not hesitated to declare executive orders and even provincial ordinances approved by the Union executive as being *ultra-vires*, in 1952 the court tested the constitutionality of the law in about the only area possible, the procedure used to enact it. Otherwise, the Union constitution—for a unitary state, without a bill of rights, and with either a flexible or semiflexible amendment process—affords few entrances for judicial review of parliamentary legislation. One of the more cogent reasons with the national convention for a unitary state was that American, Canadian, and Australian experience showed that regardless of the location of residual powers, a federal system lent itself to judicial review of measures of the national legislature (Preller, *Konvensie-Dagboek van Malan*, p. 34; see n. 64 above).

¹¹¹ No. 35 of 1952.

¹¹² *Minister of the Interior v. Harris and Others*, 1952 (4) S.A. 769 A.D. A discussion of this and the preceding case is given by D. V. Cowen, "The Entrenched Sections of the South Africa Act: Two Great Legal Battles," *South African Law Journal*, LXX (August, 1953), 238-65. The second part of this article had not yet appeared as late as the August, 1955, issue. A reply to Cowen was made by H. ver Loren van Themaat, "Die Sowerenheit van die Unie Parlement," *ibid.*, LXXI (February, 1954), 60-70. Had the Malan government not abolished appeals to the judicial committee of the Privy Council in 1950 (Act No. 16 of 1950), it could have appealed either or both of the test cases to this court, where it would have received a sympathetic hearing and perhaps even a favorable decision in that the Judicial Committee would have been fully cognizant of the British principle of parliamentary sovereignty and, further, has rendered decisions in important appeals from the dominions with an eye toward their effect upon imperial-commonwealth relations.

¹¹³ *South African Reports* (Union of South Africa Government Information Office, New York), Nov. 26, 1952, p. 2.

¹¹⁴ In 1949 South West Africa received 6 assembly and 4 senate seats, all of which went Nationalist the next year. Soon afterward the Afrikaner party merged into the Nationalist so

sembly delegations and councils indicated that a senate election would not benefit the ministry, which therefore did not dissolve the upper house and so remained fifteen votes short of the two-thirds goal.¹¹⁵

It was fitting that a party calling itself "Nationalist" should win with apartheid, because apartheid was national and would have won also with the United party-Labor combination. During the election its leaders tried to "out-apartheid" the Nationalists; and the secession from the United party after the election of the Liberal Group, dedicated to the old Cape ideal,¹¹⁶ proved that apartheid was bipartisan, tripartisan if Labor is included. A rural agrarian frontier attitude, which as the hallmark of Afrikaner nationalism had only limited success, reached victory in an industrial-urban scene as part of a larger South African nationalism.¹¹⁷

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that the government entered the election with a majority of 12 and emerged with one of 29, capturing 94 seats, although in a popular vote minority of 100,000.

¹¹⁵ With the exception of members chosen under the 1936 Native Representation Act (see above, p. 325, the senate is elected for a maximum ten-year term by a joint meeting of the individual provincial assembly delegations and councils using a system of proportional representation prior to 1955. The government adds 8 nominated members, likewise for a ten-year term. However, with the exception again of senators elected under the 1936 law, the senate may be dissolved within 120 days after any assembly dissolution.

¹¹⁶ *South African Reports*, May 21, 1953, p. 3. Founded by the writers Alan Paton and Leo Marquard, the group urges equal rights for all civilized men but is uncertain about criteria of civilization. The secession of the Union Federal party under Senator G. Heaton Nicholls is not significant in terms of native policy, where the party essentially supports apartheid. The Nicholls group wants a federal state, a hope in Natal as old as union itself.

¹¹⁷ Subsequent to the 1953 elections, the Malan ministry accepted the entrenchment principle and in July, 1953, presented a bill to a joint session. The measure would have repealed section 35 of the constitution (entrenching the Cape non-European vote) but specifically reaffirmed the entrenchment of official bilingualism (section 137) and of the amending procedure (section 152). The bill then proposed to validate the ill-fated Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951. Although generally forbidding judicial review of acts of parliament, the bill specifically authorized its exercise in cases alleging nonobservance of sections 137 and 152. In September the joint session approved this blanket measure (122-78) but below the two-thirds mark (138) so that the bill failed to pass (*First Joint Sitting*, 1953, pp. 355-57). In October the government brought to another joint session a bill merely validating the Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951. When it became obvious that the bill would not muster the two-thirds vote, the government sent it to a select committee before its second reading and ended the joint session (*Second Joint Sitting*, 1953, pp. 31, 34, 46-49). In May, 1954, the Malan ministry after negotiations with the Conservative party presented a much more complicated bill to a joint session. Although still validating the abortive act of 1951, the measure provided for its gradual implementation by a piecemeal shifting of Cape colored voters to a separate register. The bill also provided for an advisory elective-appointed Colored Affairs Council for the entire Union. When the joint session voted on this measure in June, 1954, it failed of passage by the required two-thirds majority by a mere 9 votes (*Joint Sitting*, 1954, pp. xiii-xxiii, 642-44). Dr. Malan warned that the government would move after the 1954 provincial council elections, which gave the Nationalists a majority in every province except Natal. The Strijdom ministry moved rapidly in the 1955 session. Legislation enlarged the appellate division from 5 to 11 justices (effective October, 1955) and gave indirect approval of judicial review by its provision that the enlarged court should sit in two divisions except when a case challenged the constitutionality of an act of parliament, when the 11 justices should sit. So certain was the government of passing the measure that it appointed the additional justices before introducing the bill, whose passage

was marked by the statement of Minister of Justice Charles Swart that failure of the enlarged court to uphold challenged acts of parliament would mean its further enlargement until the bench accepted the principle of parliamentary supremacy. Later in the session the senate law created a two-thirds majority for the government. Drafted with an eye on the Nationalist majorities in three of the provincial councils and their assembly delegations, the act abolished senatorial property qualifications, enlarged the elective element of the upper house, and changed the method of voting for senators by the "colleges" of respective provincial assembly delegations and councils from the method of the single transferable vote to that of a *non-transferable* vote. This abolition of proportional representation in the senate means that the new senate, which will meet in January, 1956, will see the government holding all elected seats except the 8 of Natal and thereby in possession of the two-thirds parliamentary membership majority necessary to remove the Cape colored voters to a separate roll. The passage of the law was accompanied by vigorous protest outside parliament, the most dramatic being that by the "Black-Sash Women," who have continued to express a silent protest on any occasion where ministers are present. The Nationalist press supported the measure only on the grounds of the necessity of removing Cape colored voters to a separate register. Opponents of the senate law are planning to challenge its constitutionality in the courts. However, their success seems doubtful, particularly in view of the positive sanction in the South Africa Act of 1909 of any type of remodeling of the senate after 1920 by ordinary legislation.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

History and the Social Sciences: The Problem of Communications

Notes on a Conference held by the Social Science Research Council

RICHARD D. CHALLENGER AND MAURICE LEE, JR.

SINCE its establishment some thirty years ago the Social Science Research Council has sponsored many conferences at which historians have considered not only the relationship between history and the other social sciences but also problems which pertain to the condition and welfare of the historical field itself. One such meeting, in the 1930's, led to a volume which discussed the state of historical writings at that time. Another, in 1942, at which the late Charles A. Beard posed the problem of the "operating theories" of American historians, resulted in the eventual publication of Bulletin No. 54, which dealt mainly with the question of the relativism of historical knowledge. Within the last twelve months the Social Science Research Council has issued a new bulletin, No. 64, whose purpose is to demonstrate some of the ways in which social-science knowledge can be useful to historians. In the autumn of 1953 the S.S.R.C. invited a group of sixteen historians to attend a meeting at Princeton, New Jersey, for further discussion of a broad range of topics concerning the nature of historical research, recent developments in historical scholarship, and, in general, the present condition of history.¹

In contrast to earlier S.S.R.C.-sponsored meetings, there was little concern expressed about the once lively and controversial subject of the relativity of historical truth. As Professor Oscar Handlin noted, American historians have "learned to live with relativism." Scholars, once disturbed by the discovery that history could not achieve scientific objectivity or finality, have

¹ Those present at the meetings, held at Princeton, New Jersey, on October 30 and 31, 1953, were: Thomas Cochran (University of Pennsylvania); Gordon Craig (Princeton); Karl Deutsch (Massachusetts Institute of Technology); Louis Gottschalk (Chicago); Henry Guerlac (Cornell); Oscar Handlin (Harvard); Leonard Krieger (Yale); Thomas Le Duc (Oberlin); Arthur Link (Northwestern); Roy Nichols (University of Pennsylvania); Robert Palmer (Princeton); Boyd Shafer (*American Historical Review*); Charles Sydnor (Duke); C. Vann Woodward (Johns Hopkins); Pendleton Herring (Social Science Research Council). Richard Hofstadter (Columbia) and Elting Morison (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) were invited but were unable to attend. The authors of this article served as rapporteurs for the conference.

learned to work with subjects which do not permit them to avoid a degree of subjective involvement and to accept the fact that completely objective "truth" is unattainable. Nor were the conferees worried about the recognition which history received from the public at large. It was pointed out, for example, that one indication of this general recognition of history and of historians was the fact that the federal government had not only recruited a large staff of historians to keep and record the story of American participation in the Second World War but had also realized the importance of setting these projects in motion almost immediately after Pearl Harbor. The conferees were not particularly concerned either about such financial problems as the securing of grants-in-aid for research projects; it was generally believed that historians were able to get a fair share of available funds.²

The principal problem raised by the conferees was the question of communications between history and the other social sciences. Nearly all the historians present expressed the belief that the *rapprochement* between history and social science was not entirely satisfactory. It was noted that social scientists are frequently uncertain whether they should include historians within their ranks; they are perplexed because, according to their point of view, historians do not employ the methods of social science and do not have the same interests as social scientists. It seemed to the conferees that the lack of communication between the social scientist and the historian was, in fact, a genuine problem and that the best method of dealing with it would be for them to make explicit their conception of the function of the historian and their views on the nature and utility of history.

Professor Handlin observed that the utility of history derives in large part from the fact that history, as it is being written today, takes a broad view of the historical process. The point had been made in previous discussion concerning recent developments in the fields of military history and the history of science that historians working in these areas do not regard their studies as watertight, specialized compartments carved out of, and separate from, the rest of history. Present-day historians no longer attempt to operate within the confines of a particular specialty but approach their special interests in terms of the larger whole of human history. Military history and the history of science, for example, are related to concurrent developments in the social,

² However, as the late Charles Sydnor observed, the individual scholar frequently faces certain difficulties when he applies for a grant from one of the foundations. The foundations, largely for administrative reasons, are most interested in the large-scale project. It follows that the individual scholar, working alone, who needs only enough funds for a year's leave of absence from his teaching job, often finds it difficult to obtain a small grant. The problem is more acute in the case of younger men who still have their reputations to make, and in the case of scholars who are interested in subjects which do not have contemporary interest and implications.

political, and economic spheres—or to what Handlin termed “the total situation.” History, as it is written today, thus cuts across institutional lines, seeks to establish patterns of interconnection, and aims at recreating the total situation as the historian sees it.

But, Handlin continued, this was a comparatively recent development in the researching and writing of history, and represented something of a shift in the historian’s concept of the proper scope of historical research. When history first became a scholarly discipline, historians were under the influence of nineteenth-century theories of evolution, and they tended to study particular institutions as if they were self-contained entities whose patterns of development could be traced virtually *in vacuo* and without reference to other human institutions. And from this—rather illogically, perhaps—there sprang the view that the historian, if he worked hard enough and long enough at tracing the origins and development of almost any given institution, would eventually be able to discover certain basic “laws” of historical evolution.

It was, of course, at this point in time that history and the social sciences were most *en rapport*; the historian and the social scientist seemed to be operating on similar assumptions and to have similar objectives. But in the twentieth century historians began to have doubts about the validity of this kind of history. They began to realize that the concept of an independent, self-contained evolution of institutions was unsatisfactory, and they became highly skeptical about the possibility of discovering “laws.”

Professor Handlin then raised the question of the possible effects that this development had produced. He wondered if the changed outlook of historians had not affected the relationship of history with the social sciences, particularly those social sciences which continue to look for uniformities and to formulate hypotheses as a basis upon which to conduct research. Was it not possible that the very nature of the development of historical studies in the last generation had tended to cut the historian off from the social sciences? And, as a result, was it not also possible that the problem of communication between history and social science had arisen because historians now claimed there was no such thing as a historical “law” and because many social scientists believed that history conceived in such terms had no utility for them?

As the ensuing discussions made clear, the majority of the conferees believed that the historian, however much he might be concerned with the relationship between history and social science, should not point simply in the direction of becoming “more scientific.” The historians at the conference

readily admitted that many of the hypotheses of such an area as economic theory might be useful in broadening the horizons of the history; they agreed that a subject like statistics offered a way of measuring time series with greater precision; and they further noted that social-science hypotheses were useful in forcing the historian to examine his basic suppositions and in helping him to see his discipline as an analytical rather than as a narrative endeavor. It was pointed out, for example, that, since the writings of Keynes, no historian who is concerned with the business cycle can attempt to write in this area without at least an awareness of the nature of Keynesian economics. And it was further noted that many of the concepts of the social sciences—such as the idea of “full employment”—have achieved regular, everyday usage and that the historian must therefore be familiar with them. Nevertheless, the sense of the meeting was that historians should not consciously attempt to remake history in the social-science image and should not attempt to restore communication with the social sciences simply by adopting social science methods as their own.

For one thing, the historian recognizes the complexity of man and therefore questions the extent to which human beings can adequately be considered in terms of hypotheses or “laws.” There are always too many imponderables. A Bismarck, for instance, had to cope with the play of chance, and the success or failure of his diplomacy depended, at least in part, upon the factor of personalities. These are matters which the historian learns to judge only through experience, through long pondering of, and saturation in, the raw materials of history. And they do not always fit into the hypotheses or generalizations of social science.

To Professor Robert Palmer it seemed that the essence of the historian’s task is to act in the capacity of judge and jury. The job is not unlike that of an administrator who, in the face of complex and baffling situations, must nevertheless make decisions. The function of the historian, then, is essentially that of an interpreter. His responsibility is to view the problem as a whole and to form opinions on the basis of the available evidence—admitting that all of the “facts” may never be known and that different people in different ages will disagree in their interpretation of the value and meaning of the “facts” that are available. Palmer, like Handlin, maintained that the historian is concerned with the diagnosis of total situations, and he went on to observe that the historian brings to these situations a whole series of general propositions—some “scientific,” some the result of experience, some simply common sense—with which to make his estimate. What the historian attempts to do is to determine whether these propositions or generalizations are applicable to any

given situation and, if so, to what extent. For instance, if a historian is studying the French Revolution, he may bring to his task the generalization that if people are oppressed, then they tend to rebel. His task is to determine the number of oppressed, the nature of their oppression, and so on, and then to determine if, in fact, it was the oppressed people who rebelled, and if they rebelled because they were oppressed or for some entirely different reason.

This diagnosis of situations is, moreover, a task which is prior to the making of hypotheses. It might be, Palmer continued, that the general propositions or generalizations could be "proved" if there were enough examples, but it is not the job of the historian to make such an attempt.

It follows, too, that when the historian begins to work on a project, he cannot know precisely where his research will lead him. Its outcome cannot be charted with exactitude. For example, he will not know until after he has worked in the sources for a while whether in the French Revolution it was, in fact, the oppressed who rebelled. Furthermore, the historian is dealing with man's experiences in society, and these experiences are generally so complicated that the historian cannot hope to arrive at conclusions which will be unanimously accepted. Adding to his difficulties is the fact that, in dealing with "total situations," he must often take account of the findings of various "scientific" disciplines and frequently must be aware of at least the main principles of these fields. As a result of these various considerations, then, the task of the historian is one of peculiar difficulty and one which extends beyond the framework of many of the social sciences. The historian, for example, cannot be bound by the conceptual method of the theoretical economist for whom it is frequently possible to reach satisfactory conclusions by postulating an "economic man" concerned only with the making of profits and who is able to confine his research to problems which fall within that theoretical framework.

Yet the conferees concluded that history has a high degree of validity not only with reference to the social sciences but also as an intellectual endeavor in its own right. The historian can produce estimates of "total situations" of the past. He can serve as an interpreter of man's many experiences. And he can pass judgments on the past activities of man. Although few historians attempt to produce universal "laws" of history, the historian can—by concentrating upon the analysis of concrete instances in terms of the total context of events—supply depth and perspective to complex problems of continuity and change in a way which would not be possible if only one aspect of the over-all situation were to be studied. Thus he can teach by analogy and by example and, at the very least, can suggest parallels. The historian can

also provide interpretations at the point where various scholarly disciplines cross or merge. It was pointed out that the social scientist—although he usually contents himself with operating within his own discipline—frequently finds himself dealing with problems which are on the margin of his own discipline and of which his own knowledge is incomplete. The historian, if he carries out his research and writing with a view to the total context of events, can be of real assistance since it is the nature of history conceived in such terms to study the question of interrelationships—to consider, for example, how questions which may originate in the social structure affect the political order or the economic order and how all of these factors are related one to another.

It might be noted parenthetically that the discussions on trends in military history and the history of science, which have previously been alluded to, indicated that contemporary historians in these areas are making contributions of this nature. To be sure, as both Professors Gordon Craig and Henry Guerlac noted, recent achievements in these fields are not primarily due to the discovery of new methods.³ Military historians and historians of science are on the whole employing methods familiar to all historians, and their achievements are considerable for the simple reason that both fields have been neglected in the past, or have been tackled principally by narrow specialists, antiquarians, or zealous amateurs. (When it is considered, for instance, that there are still no adequate studies of such institutions as the General Staff of the United States Army, or of such major scientific figures as Galileo, it is apparent that in these two important fields the surface has barely been scratched.) The point is, however, that historians in these fields are now concerned with "total situations." The military historians of today have demonstrated the fact that changes in the military institutions of a country affect the social institutions of that nation, and vice versa—that there is a reciprocal relationship between the institutions and policies of the military establishment and those of the civil society that supports it. Hence the military historian considers the Schlieffen plan, for instance, not only in terms of its military strategy but also as a project whose political implications were such that it limited the flexibility of German foreign policy for a decade before 1914; and his concern is more to demonstrate the nature and conse-

³ Yet recent military historians have used the technique of oral interviews in writing narratives of the Second World War and have held seminars with officers who participated in various actions at different command levels. And in the writing of the 99-volume series on the U. S. Army in the war, the War Department created a special Historical Division, placed it under the direction of a prominent academic historian, hired a large staff of professional, civilian historians, and undertook a large-scale co-operative venture in historical research and writing. If these are not new methods, they involve at least the utilization of different techniques than have been used in earlier military history.

quences of this limitation than to draw up orders of battle or plot the movement of troops. Similarly, the historian of science does not stop with the description of new scientific methods or theories. When, for example, he considers the history of science in the period from 1450 to 1750, he is conscious of the fact that he is dealing with a revolution in man's approach to nature, a revolution whose over-all implications for society have been described as being as far-reaching as those of the coming of Christianity. Man in this period began to realize that he could control the forces of nature—and it is with the revolutionary transformation in human thought that this implied that the historian of science is concerned.

The members of the conference made the additional suggestion that the historian can be of great assistance in considering the place of hypotheses in the social sciences. The historian, in their view, is in a position to see the particular hypotheses of a given social-science discipline in a larger context. A social-science hypothesis, generally founded upon present experiences or contemporary data, can, after all, be checked against the experience of men in time. Moreover, the historian can often supply a great deal of data directly useful to social scientists. It was observed that when the present-day sociologist, to cite but one example, wishes to study family patterns, he is generally forced to turn to the anthropologists for help and to derive his contrasts from books written about primitive peoples. But broad and general historical studies of past societies, studies which deal with "total situations"—analyses, for instance, of the culture of Tudor England or colonial Virginia—would provide a great deal of pertinent data on family patterns. Such information would be highly useful to a sociologist concerned with the family as an institution who needed information derived from the conditions of past eras.

The conferees agreed that the historian can, on his own initiative, do much to improve communications with fellow social scientists. For one thing, he can make more explicit just what it is that the historian can hope to accomplish. He can also bring out more clearly the social-science implications of a problem where they may exist. Several of the men who had had experience on university research fund committees noted that historians who apply for grants are often unaware of the social-science aspect of the project they have in mind until it is explicitly pointed out to them.

It was also the consensus of opinion that there was a definite need for more rigorous and advanced graduate school programs in history. Since history as it is being written today pays increasing attention to the "total situation" surrounding any given event and the interrelationships between various aspects of a problem, the historian must be familiar with many areas of

knowledge. Although he is not to become a specialist in the social sciences, he must frequently draw upon many of the concepts and methods of the social sciences, and he needs an acquaintance with political theory, with economic theory, and with the current thinking of the behavioral sciences. With this in mind, the conferees made several suggestions. One was the need for more "tool" courses—for example, courses in statistics in which the graduate student in history could learn how to work with quantitative data. Furthermore, particularly in those areas where the historian intends to work with subjects that are less familiar to him, there is a genuine need for him to acquire more substantive knowledge. The historian who plans to work in the history of science, for instance, must have not only historical knowledge but also a real grasp of science and its methods, including a familiarity with laboratory techniques. Finally, the suggestion was made by several of the conferees that, in view of the need for more rigorous historical training, it might be wise to explore the possibility of radical revisions in the normal graduate program, even to the point of replacing it with a curriculum which would offer a broad interdisciplinary or subject training in which the student could acquire at least a familiarity with the basic methodologies of the social sciences.

In any event, the conferees were agreed that historians need to develop a greater realization that theirs is a distinctive discipline requiring rigorous and distinctive training and that the writing of history is in fact a highly complex operation. And they need to have a greater awareness of the need to continue training beyond graduate school and not to stop with the Ph.D. Postdoctoral institutes, refresher courses such as are available in medical schools, conferences, summer seminars, and more frequent periods for reading and reflection under some sort of institutional direction might be possible means of improving the quality of historical writing and of meeting the need for more analytical history. It was agreed, finally, that too many historians either stop creative work once they have been granted the Ph.D. or else go on writing monographs without regard to the possibility of planning works of broader scope, which would be of interest not only to fellow historians but to social scientists as well.

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Survey of United States Historians, 1952, and a Forecast

J. F. WELLEMAYER, JR.

NEWSPAPERS and popular and professional journals are currently filled with articles on the rapid rise in the national birthrate since 1940, the steady increase in the proportion of the population seeking higher education, and the resultant flood of students about to descend on the campuses of colleges and universities throughout the land.¹ In the light of future as well as present problems members of the American Historical Association may be interested in a survey of their profession. Four years ago the American Council of Learned Societies undertook a statistical study of available personnel in the social sciences and humanities.² Questionnaires and occupational specialty checklists, designed with the advice of twenty-three professional societies, were mailed to members of these societies and to persons nominated by the members. Information was requested on age, citizenship, educational background, language proficiency, knowledge of foreign areas, fields of specialization, professional nature of current positions, employers, and annual earnings.

¹ In 1933 the number of births in the United States dropped to 2,300,000. By 1940 this number had risen to 2,600,000, and by 1947 to 3,800,000. The birthrate has declined somewhat since then, but because of the increase in population and in the formation of families the number of births continues high, and since 1950 has each year exceeded the 1947 total. The college freshman class of 1951 was born in 1933 and the class to enter in 1958 was born in 1940. Freshman classes born in the peak years of 1947 and after will begin to arrive on campuses in 1965. The degree of this impact cannot yet be determined. Large increases in student population would occur if the proportion of students in the college-age population were to remain at its present level, but this proportion has been rising rapidly in the twentieth century. The college-student population rose from 200,000 in 1900 to 2,300,000 in 1950, while the total population doubled. This is obviously a revolutionary movement which, quite likely, has not run its course. On the rather conservative assumption that by 1970 the ratio between those attending college and the population between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one will rise to 30-32 per cent, we may expect an enrollment of 4,300,000 to 4,600,000 students. See J. F. Wellemeyer, Jr., and Pauline A. Lerner, "Higher Education Faculty Requirements in the Humanities and the Social Sciences, 1952-1970," *School and Society*, LXXVIII (Nov. 14, 1953). For a similar analysis based on graduation trends, see Dael Wolfe, *America's Resources of Specialized Talent*, Report of the Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training (New York, 1954). Recent developments indicate that the projections cited here may be too low.

² As part of a larger program of analysis undertaken by the Personnel Studies Program of the American Council of Learned Societies made possible by the generosity of the Rockefeller Foundation, this project, called "National Registration of the Humanities and the Social Sciences," was conducted by the A.C.L.S. under contract with the Office of Naval Research in 1952. The replies were analyzed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, which used some of the data in two publications: Bulletin 1169, *Personnel Resources in the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Washington, 1954), and Bulletin 1167, *Employment Outlook in the Social Sciences* (Washington, 1954). Tables used in the following study were prepared by Max H. North, and much of the first draft of the text was written by Evelyn S. Cooper.

The following study is based on information gathered in this survey relevant to historians. Of the 4,662 members of the American Historical Association to whom questionnaires were sent,³ 56 per cent returned them. In addition, a few hundred persons belonging to other organizations classified themselves as historians.⁴ In all, 2,979 replies were tabulated. Of these, 2,562 were active professional historians, 2,236 men and 326 women; 282 were graduate students; and 135 were undergraduates, retired historians, and others not professionally employed.

The median age of the active group (excluding students and retired historians) was forty-one, somewhat younger than that of similar groups in linguistics, literature, and a few other humanistic fields, but older than that of groups in political science, economics, statistics, and sociology. The median age of the graduate students in history was twenty-nine, comparable to that of graduate students in the social sciences. The average historian entered the labor market at the age of twenty-eight, reflecting the need for extended education and the difficulty of completing it. The figures in Table I (see p. 341) give an indication of the relative median ages of historians in various fields of specialization.

The oldest were the ancient history specialists and those in the topical fields of religious, economic, and local history, with diplomatic and constitutional history not far behind. The youngest were in recent United States history, modern Germany and eastern and central Europe, and history of science. The median age of historians employed by colleges or universities was 43; by other educational institutions, 36; by the federal government, 39; by state and local governments, 43; by non-profit research foundations, 39; and by other non-profit organizations, 42. Results of the survey as a whole showed that historians on college faculties had a higher median age than many other groups of specialists, a fact which suggests either that the market for college history teachers had been slow or that training in history took longer, or both (see also note 3).

³ Questionnaires were sent to all individual members of the American Historical Association. Libraries and other institutional members were of course excluded. Replies showing little or no professional competence in the historical field were omitted from the tabulation. It should be remembered in judging the results of the A.C.L.S. survey that members of the American Historical Association represent principally teachers in colleges and universities and include only a small proportion of secondary-school teachers or members of state historical societies. Moreover, all the professional associations tend to have a relatively large number of members with Ph.D.'s and with higher incomes.

⁴ Since there was considerable overlapping in academic fields covered by the survey, occasional problems were encountered in classifying respondents. In such cases, a person was classified on the basis of his own statement as to his field of greatest competence, regardless of the field in which he took his Ph.D., his current employment, or the professional association to which he belonged.

TABLE I. MEDIAN AGE OF ACTIVE, NON-STUDENT HISTORIANS BY FIELDS, 1952

Field	Median age	Field	Median age
Ancient history	46	Political and institutional history	43
Medieval and Renaissance	43	Religious history	48
Modern history	—	Constitutional and legal history	44
Far Eastern Asia	41	Cultural and intellectual history	39
Middle and Near East Asia	39	Diplomatic history (incl. international relations)	44
European History	—	Economic history	45
British Isles	40	Military history and military records	38
France	38	History of the sciences	37
Germany	36	State and local history	45
Eastern and Central Europe	36	Archival science	43
Other European incl. general European	41	Other topical specialties	40
United States	—	General history and subject not designated	48
Colonial	37		
Early national (to 1861)	39		
1861-1914	38		
1914 to present	36		
United States (general)	40		
Mexico and Central America	42		
South America	40		
Other modern, incl. general modern history	43		

Information obtained about women historians was too limited to permit the drawing of significant conclusions, though some remarks concerning their status in the profession are possible. Of the 2,562 active historians who answered the questionnaire, 13 per cent were women; of the 282 graduate students, 9 per cent; and of the 123 persons retired or not seeking work, almost 40 per cent, or 49, of whom about half were of retirement age. The women historians, with a median age of 46, were considerably older than the men, with a median age of 40; half were between the ages of 45 and 65, while only a third of the men were in this age group. The low percentage of women in the profession may reflect their reluctance to enter it because of discrimination against them in the field (see p. 350 below).⁵ The fact that they were generally older than the men suggests a return of married women to the profession after the child-rearing period is over.

The "Checklist of Fields of Specialization," prepared by the American Historical Association and sent out with each questionnaire, contained four

⁵ Out of 301 candidates for the Ph.D. in history who were awarded the degree in 1952-1953 only 21 were women. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Circular No. 380, *Earned Degrees Conferred by Higher Educational Institutions, 1952-1953* (Washington, 1954).

main categories: ancient history, medieval and Renaissance history, modern history, and topical specialties. Ancient history and the medieval and Renaissance period were each subdivided by geographic or political areas; modern history was subdivided first by area and then, in some cases, again by period. Some thirteen topical specialties were listed.⁶ Each historian was asked to indicate in descending order of competence the three fields in which he had major experience, and, on the basis of this information, the following table was prepared showing the total number of historians in each field and the number who listed each field as their first, second, or third specialty:

TABLE II. HISTORIANS IN EACH FIELD, 1952

Field	Total	First specialty	Second specialty	Third specialty
Total listing specialties	—	2979	2825	2574
Ancient history (to 500 A.D.)				
Total	—	67	73	100
General	82	21	19	42
Far East	12	3	5	4
Mesopotamia and Egypt	24	4	11	9
North Africa	4	2	1	1
Greece	66	21	21	24
Rome	49	16	15	18
Other	3	0	1	2
Mediaeval and Renaissance history (500-1500 A.D.)				
Total	—	183	126	132
General	180	78	55	47
Far East	11	5	2	4
Byzantine Empire	23	8	5	10
Italy	43	17	11	15
France	61	23	15	23
Northern Europe	29	8	8	13
British Isles	69	31	21	17
Other	25	13	9	3
Modern history (since 1500 A.D.)				
Total	—	1987	1786	1387
General	166	55	57	54
Africa	24	7	5	12
Far Eastern Asia				
General	80	19	28	33
China	67	21	26	20
Japan and Korea	46	12	18	16
Other Far East	18	6	6	6

⁶ General history and archival sciences did not appear on the questionnaire. They have been added to the "Topical Specialties" in Table II because of the considerable number of historians who listed them.

Field	Total	First specialty	Second specialty	Third specialty
Middle Eastern Asia				
General	13	3	2	8
India	18	5	8	5
Other Middle East	5	3	0	2
Near Eastern Asia				
General	22	6	9	7
Ottoman Empire	11	1	4	6
Modern Turkey (incl. European Turkey)	8	1	5	2
Other Near East	13	3	3	7
Australia and New Zealand	9	4	3	2
Europe—General	383	116	134	133
Balkans	27	10	7	10
Baltic Area	9	3	3	3
British Isles				
General	184	48	76	60
Tudor and Stuart	171	74	49	48
18th and 19th cent.	218	88	71	59
Britain post-1914	79	19	40	20
Central Europe	72	23	26	23
Russia and Eastern Europe				
General	84	24	28	32
Russia before 1918	65	28	26	11
Modern U.S.S.R.	96	25	47	24
Other Eastern Europe	28	4	14	10
France	254	123	68	63
Germany	186	76	63	47
Italy	29	10	9	10
Netherlands and Belgium	13	2	6	5
Scandinavia	24	8	10	6
Spain and Portugal	31	4	13	14
Canada	33	8	12	13
United States				
General	613	354	140	119
Colonial	309	149	101	59
Early national (to 1861)	506	220	181	105
1861-1914	508	188	224	96
1914 to present	378	111	142	125
Mexico and Central America				
General	85	31	29	25
Pre-1819 Spanish	28	14	7	7
1819-1911	30	15	8	7
Modern Mexico (after 1911)	21	6	10	5
South America				
General	88	16	36	36
Argentina	22	9	5	8
Brazil	18	8	7	3

Field	Total	First specialty	Second specialty	Third specialty
Chile	12	5	3	4
Other S. America	20	10	5	5
Other modern	36	12	12	12
Topical specialties				
Total	—	742	840	955
History—General	86	50	11	25
Political and institutional history	185	35	76	74
Religious history	201	59	80	62
Constitutional and legal history .	145	32	44	69
Cultural and intellectual history	435	109	161	165
Diplomatic history	425	136	141	148
Economic history	205	45	77	83
Agricultural history	38	11	11	16
Business history	43	11	10	22
Military history and military records	215	72	63	80
History of the sciences	57	27	10	20
State and local history	258	96	81	81
Biography	82	8	32	42
Historiography	93	8	25	60
Archival sciences	42	32	7	3
Other	27	11	11	5

Perhaps the most striking fact that emerges from an analysis of these specialization figures is that over 1,000 historians, or more than one third of the number surveyed, reported United States history as their first field of specialization. If the survey respondents are representative of all historians, this would imply the existence of perhaps 2,000 United States history specialists (see p. 351 below). An additional 280 indicated fields in American history as a second specialty, and 33 scholars who were not primarily historians also listed American history as a second specialty.

The second largest group were the 685 historians who listed some phase of modern European history as their first specialty, with the British Isles the most popular area, followed by France, Russia, and Germany. Italy, the Scandinavian countries, Spain and Portugal, and the Low Countries ran far behind with 10 or fewer specialists in each. Of the remaining modern historians, 126 were primarily interested in South and Central America and Mexico, 58 in Far Eastern Asia, 22 in Middle and Near Eastern Asia, and fewer than 10 each in Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.

Modern history thus accounts for about two thirds of the historians reporting. Only 8 per cent specialized primarily in either medieval or ancient history: 183 persons listed the former as a first specialty, and 67 the latter.

About one fourth checked various topical specialties as their primary field of interest. Diplomatic history (including international relations) led the way with 136 persons indicating it as their first specialty. Cultural and intellectual history was not far behind. Almost 100 persons listed state and local history, and 72 indicated military history and records. Religious history (including church history), economic history, political and institutional history, constitutional and legal history, and archival sciences followed with between 30 and 60 specialists each. The remaining very small groups were in history of the sciences, business history, biography, and historiography.

Graduate students tended to favor modern French history, United States colonial history, cultural and intellectual history, history of the sciences. The students surveyed appeared to be less interested in archival science, political and institutional history, diplomatic history, constitutional and legal history, religious history, and modern Far Eastern history.

In terms of academic degrees historians were more highly educated than any other group in the survey, except the specialists in philosophy, linguistics, and literature.

TABLE III. LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF HISTORIANS, 1952

Degree	Total reporting		Active, non-student group	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total	2,979	100.0	2,562	100.0
Ph.D.	1,705	57.2	1,622	63.3
Master's	1,047	35.1	795	31.0
Bachelor's	190	6.4	127	5.0
Other degree	5	.2	4	.2
No degree	25	.8	7	.3
Not reporting extent of education	7	.2	7	.3

Sixty-three per cent of the active historians had doctoral degrees, and an additional 31 per cent had master's degrees. This may be due in part to the fact that historians, more than some other specialists, are restricted to academic careers, which require advanced degrees. Of the graduate students surveyed, 78 per cent had master's degrees and presumably were working toward their doctorates.

The graduate training of historians was highly concentrated in a few universities, notably Harvard, Columbia, and Chicago. The following table, listing colleges and universities that had granted ten or more Ph.D.'s to historians in the survey, shows that ten universities accounted for two thirds of all the Ph.D.'s.

TABLE IV. UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES AWARDING PH.D.'s TO HISTORIANS

University or College	Number of Ph.D.'s	Per cent of total
Total	1705	100.0
Harvard Univ.	221	13.0
Columbia Univ.	194	11.4
Univ. of Chicago	138	8.1
Univ. of California (all campuses)	125	7.3
Yale Univ.	97	5.7
Univ. of Wisconsin	84	4.9
Univ. of Pennsylvania	82	4.8
Univ. of Illinois	50	2.9
Univ. of Michigan	46	2.7
State Univ. of Iowa	46	2.7
Cornell Univ.	43	2.5
Stanford Univ.	39	2.3
Johns Hopkins Univ.	33	1.9
Univ. of Minnesota	30	1.8
Princeton Univ.	30	1.8
Catholic Univ. of America	27	1.6
Duke Univ.	23	1.3
Univ. of Texas	22	1.3
Ohio State Univ.	22	1.3
Univ. of North Carolina	20	1.2
Vanderbilt Univ.	14	.8
Northwestern Univ.	12	.7
Univ. of Colorado	12	.7
Clark Univ.	12	.7
Indiana Univ.	11	.6
St. Louis Univ.	11	.6
Georgetown Univ.	10	.6
Boston Univ.	10	.6

It should be pointed out that advanced graduate training in history is available at a relatively limited number of institutions. In the academic year 1953-1954, for example, graduate training leading to the doctorate was available at 129 institutions. Doctorates in history were awarded at only 59 of these,⁷ 50 of which were represented in the 1952 A.C.L.S. survey.

The undergraduate training of the historians surveyed understandably took place at a far greater number of schools than their graduate training, but the institutions awarding the greatest number of Ph.D.'s also provided a large proportion of the undergraduate training. Princeton, on the other hand, ranked considerably higher as an undergraduate than as a graduate school. Catholic University and Georgetown University awarded a large number of Ph.D.'s as compared to their very small number of B.A. degrees. Of the

⁷ *Employment Outlook in the Social Sciences*, p. 33.

colleges not granting doctorates, the City College of New York, Amherst, Dartmouth, Wesleyan, Oberlin, Vassar, Bowdoin, and Williams were outstanding as undergraduate sources of Ph.D.'s in history. Small colleges as a group, however, contributed to the total number of highly trained scholars only in proportion to their enrollments.

Of the 1,595 historians with Ph.D. degrees in the survey, 80 per cent (1,269) received their degrees at an institution other than the one at which they received the B.A., but this figure includes 800 historians who had changed institutions because their undergraduate colleges did not grant doctorates. Of the 795 historians who attended institutions which did grant the Ph.D., over 40 per cent (326) chose to complete their graduate work at the same institution.

A comparison of the level of education of specialists in the various fields of history shows that 78 per cent of those in ancient history and 75 per cent of the medievalists held the Ph.D., while only 61 per cent of the modern historians and 64 per cent of the topical specialists had attained the degree. This difference may be explained partly by the fact that the modern historians were younger as a group than the specialists in ancient and medieval history and a certain proportion may be counted on eventually to obtain the higher degree (see p. 340 above).

All but five of the respondents answered the question about knowledge of foreign languages. The results were: 132 none, 262 one only, 1,006 two, 689 three, and 885 four or more. These figures reflect a wide variation in language proficiency, from "equivalent to native fluency in speaking" to "limited knowledge." (Information on the degree of proficiency was obtained on the questionnaire, but this was not tabulated.)

Only three languages were tabulated for each respondent. Of the 1,957 persons who knew three languages or fewer, 92 per cent knew French, 72 per cent knew German, and 29 per cent knew Spanish. This is hardly surprising in view of the usual German and French requirements for Ph.D. candidates. Over 600 respondents indicated competence in Latin, about 250 in classical Greek, and 67 in classical Hebrew. Russian, with about 240 scholars, accounted for the next largest group. This can undoubtedly be explained by the growing interest in the study of the Russian language since World War II, encouraged by the armed forces, the government, and universities. War training is also responsible for the fairly large number (86) listing Japanese. Other significant languages were Portuguese with 140, Scandinavian languages with 130, and Dutch with 90.⁸

⁸ In tabulating the languages, priority was given to knowledge of languages other than German, Italian, Spanish, and French; therefore the "other" languages may seem proportionately more widely known by historians than they actually are.

At the time of the A.C.L.S. survey in 1952, unemployment was not a serious problem for historians; of the 2,562 persons in the non-student labor force, the active group of historians, only 82 were employed part-time and 46 were unemployed and seeking work. If the responses were typical, one may infer that about 5,000 historians were employed in the United States, slightly fewer employed full time (see p. 351 below).

Over 80 per cent of the historians in the survey were engaged in teaching. Only 6 per cent reported research as their major employment function, and of these most worked for the federal government, although some were employed by universities and foundations. Administrative work, including administration of research, direction or supervision of work, and planning and policy determination at various levels of government and in universities, accounted for 4 per cent of the historians. Smaller groups were engaged in "operational" activity, writing and editing, museum, or library work. A very few historians acted as consultants for the federal government and private industry.

Of the historians surveyed, 2,163 were employed as historians: 1,709 were employed by colleges and universities, 153 by other educational institutions, and the rest by government, non-profit organizations, or private business. The remaining 271 persons in the active group constituted the 14 per cent employed in fields outside of history, 8 per cent in closely allied fields—education, social sciences, and the humanities—and 6 per cent who had moved to other professions or to nonprofessional jobs.

It should be pointed out again that the information in this report does not give a total picture of persons employed in the field of history. Since the survey was planned to cover only the more highly trained professional historians (see p. 340, n. 3 above), it did not include, for example, the large numbers employed as secondary-school teachers of history. The response from historians employed by the government was probably inadequate. Replies were received from 187 historians employed by the federal government and 37 employed by state or local governments.

Opportunities for employment appeared to vary considerably among the various categories of specialization. Ancient and medieval historians were employed almost exclusively by colleges and universities. Although modern historians and topical specialists were also employed predominately in higher education, a higher proportion of them were employed in government and non-profit organizations. Of all the persons employed as historians, 63 per cent were employed in the field of modern history (chiefly American and European) and another 31 per cent in a topical specialty. Only 4 per cent

were employed in medieval and Renaissance history and not quite 2 per cent in ancient history.

Comparison of the figures for employment fields with those for fields of special competence and training indicates that modern historians and topical specialists remained in their specialties more often than did ancient and medieval historians. Only half the specialists in ancient history were actually employed in this field, and about 30 per cent had moved to other professions. Medieval and Renaissance specialists, however, showed 60 per cent employed in their fields and 11 per cent moving out of history entirely. A number of ancient and medieval historians were teaching modern history and topical specialties. Almost three quarters of the modern history specialists and two thirds of the topical specialists were employed in their own fields, and the majority of these two groups not so employed had simply switched from modern history to a topical specialty or the reverse.

The median annual salary of historians—\$5,000—was less than the median for any of the social science groups but about the same as that of specialists in the humanities. Although it was labeled "optional," over 90 per cent of the persons employed full time as historians replied to the income question so that the following data cover the regular annual salaries of some 1,900 historians.

TABLE V. MEDIAN AND QUARTILE SALARIES OF PERSONS EMPLOYED FULL TIME AS HISTORIANS, BY AGE GROUP

Age group	Median	Lower quartile	Upper quartile	Total reporting
All age groups	\$5,000	\$4,100	\$6,400	1,900
25-29	3,700	3,200	4,300	143
30-34	4,200	3,500	4,800	380
35-39	4,800	4,100	5,700	351
40-44	5,400	4,500	6,400	265
45-49	5,700	4,700	6,900	238
50-54	6,200	5,000	7,600	213
55-59	6,800	5,300	8,400	134
60-64	6,500	5,300	8,200	111
65-69	6,200	5,000	9,300	40

Salaries were related to a number of factors, including age, sex, level of education, and, most important, type of employer. Table V indicates a continuous rise from the youngest group through the 55 to 59 age group and then a leveling off. It also indicates that the range of salaries within each age group gradually widens from the younger to the older groups.

The level of education obviously influenced salaries, historians with Ph.D.'s earning a median salary of \$5,500 compared to \$4,200 for the M.A.'s.

Women's salaries were lower than those of their male colleagues even with age and education taken into consideration. Men teaching at colleges and universities had a median salary of \$5,100 compared to \$4,400 for women, in spite of the fact that the men had a median age of 42 and the women a median age of 48. Wherever employed, women were paid less than men with the same degree, all the employed men with Ph.D.'s having a median salary of \$5,500 and a median age of 44, while similar figures for women were \$4,700 and 48.

Median salaries in colleges and universities, other educational institutions such as secondary schools, government, and non-profit organizations differed greatly for the same age groups at the same level of education. However, it must be pointed out that teachers' salaries are usually based on a nine- or ten-month period while salaries paid by other employers are based on a full calendar year. Most, if not all, of the salary differential between teachers and government employees can be explained in this way. Moreover, teachers, unlike most government employees, are free to supplement their income, undertake research, or have a vacation for some three months of the year. When a teacher becomes well established, the opportunities for independent study or leisure are often considered as valuable as additional income would be.

The median annual salary of historians with the Ph.D. employed by institutions of higher learning was \$5,300, that of those holding only the master's degree, \$4,000. Comparison of the salaries of historians with the Ph.D. employed by colleges and universities in the A.C.L.S. survey with the salaries of similar historians employed in the land-grant colleges and universities for 1952-1953 shows a similar distribution of the two groups within various salary brackets. In general, since 1938 faculty salaries in the publicly supported institutions have tended to catch up with those in the better endowed private colleges and universities.⁹ In fact, a comparison of salary ranges in 315 colleges and universities in 1946-1947 shows that median salaries in the publicly controlled institutions were higher than those in privately controlled colleges and universities.¹⁰

Historians in the survey employed by the federal government enjoyed higher salaries than other historians, with the median for Ph.D.'s \$7,600, for M.A.'s \$5,400. The survey, however, seems to have included a higher pro-

⁹ "Income and Expenditure in 88 Colleges and Universities in the Academic Years 1938-39 and 1948-49," *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, XXXVII (Spring, 1951).

¹⁰ "Construction of College Teachers' Salary Schedules," *ibid.*, XXXIV (Summer, 1948).

portion of the better-paid government historians than those in the lower brackets,¹¹ while there was less evidence of such a bias in the replies of college and university employees. Median salaries in state and local government and in non-profit organizations were lower than those in the federal government but somewhat higher than in the colleges and universities.

In addition to reporting regular annual salary, respondents were asked to report their total professional income, indicating their sources of supplementary professional income from a list including teaching, consulting, lecturing, and royalties. Teaching outside of regular duties—largely at summer schools—was the principal source of additional income for over half the respondents, with royalties and lectures the next most important sources. The median total professional income for historians in the survey was \$500 higher than the median regular annual salary of \$5,000.

The above statistics do not reveal any solutions to the coming problems in college enrollments. They may serve, however, as a basis for discussion of the future recruitment and training of teachers of history. For this purpose the following projections may be of interest.

If student-teacher ratios are to remain the same as they were in 1952, college faculties must approximately be doubled by 1970. If historians maintain their relative position on college faculties, this same proportion will apply to them. If we assume that there were, in 1952, approximately 6,000 professional historians, of whom 4,900 were employed as college and university faculty members,¹² the number of historians employed in teaching in 1960 will be 6,130. In 1965 this figure will have risen to approximately 7,800 and by 1970 to somewhere between 9,000 and 9,600. How far projections of this kind can be carried is problematical, but large increases in the demand for historians can be reasonably predicted.

In order to estimate demand for new historians, allowance must be made for death and retirement and for other losses to the profession. Reduced to an annual rate for the period 1952-1960, 154 per year will be needed for the increase, 55 to 110 for replacement for those leaving, and 59 for retirements. In round figures this totals 270 to 325 per year for this period. Similar arith-

¹¹ In June, 1951, the average annual salary of historians in the federal government was \$5,512, including those with Ph.D.'s and others. Although government salaries were raised about 10 per cent in July, 1951, they were still below the median of the salaries listed by government historians in the survey. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Dept. of Labor, Bulletin 1117, *Federal White Collar Workers* (Washington, 1953), p. 41.

¹² This estimate is larger than the 3,700 used as the basis for calculating requirements by Wellmeyer and Lerner (see n. 1 above). Subsequent examination of 1950 census returns and other materials makes the figure used here seem more realistic. It is still no better than an informed guess since the census did not separately tabulate historians, but it is not inconsistent with the American Historical Association membership total. The estimate used here is also used in the study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Personnel Resources in the Social Sciences and Humanities*, p. 127.

metic extends the estimates: 490 to 610 for the 1960-1965 period, and 450 to 610 for 1965-1970.

These annual requirements are not to be taken as actual statements of demand. Little or no advance staffing is being done to meet the requirements of 1960, so that the actual requirements for 1958 and 1959 may be heavier than the average figure given above, while present requirements are considerably lower. Moreover, there is no guarantee that the number of college teachers of history will keep pace, equally, with the increase of faculty, or that faculty will keep pace with enrollments. It seems likely, however, that increases of these general proportions will occur.

There is no ready measure of the oncoming supply of historians. It is commonly thought that a college teacher might be expected to achieve a doctoral degree. Many college teachers do not have the degree, although a substantial number of the younger teachers are likely to receive it eventually. If we take the doctorates as a rough measure of supply, we find that 301 such degrees were granted in history in 1952-1953.¹³ If all these new doctors took positions in colleges or universities, they would just about meet the demand. On the other hand, as mentioned above, by 1953 institutions of higher learning were not hiring staff to meet their future requirements so that the actual openings for historians were more nearly in the range of 115-170, perhaps half the number of new doctors.

Of course, many more Ph.D.'s in history were granted in 1952 and 1953 than in previous years: in 1948, for example, 162 were awarded, and in the following year 212. For a few years there may be some reduction from the 1953 level as graduate students are recruited from the smaller senior classes of the post-veteran period. It is also possible that the number of persons leaving the profession is greater than was allowed above, and it is probable that many students take their doctorates in history for purposes other than teaching. Notwithstanding these variables, it would appear that in the immediate past more doctorates were produced than there were positions available in the field.

For the period after 1960, the demand will increase rapidly, and the problem of recruiting enough able teachers will be urgent. If 300 a year is an estimated measure of peak production, can the graduate schools successfully cope with a demand of 450 to 600 per year? Can enough able students be brought into the field of history under circumstances of active competition with other fields?

Washington, D.C.

¹³ Office of Education, *Earned Degrees . . . 1952-1953*.

★ ★ ★ ★ *Reviews of Books* ★ ★ ★ ★

General History

BIBLIOGRAFÍA HISTÓRICA DE ESPAÑA E HISPANOAMERICA. Vol. I, 1953-1954. [Índice histórico español, Centro de estudios históricos internacionales, Universidad de Barcelona.] (Barcelona: Editorial Teide. [1955]. Pp. xxiii, 859. 350 ptas.)

In the annals of Spanish historiography 1953 will be remembered as the year in which resignedly handicapped workers in an expanding field of research were unexpectedly endowed with one of the world's leading journals of current historical bibliography, the quarterly *Índice histórico español*. Sponsored by the University of Barcelona's Centro de estudios históricos internacionales, the *Índice* actually owes its foundation and continuing editorial direction to Jaime Vicens Vives, editor also of the valuable *Estudios de historia moderna* and one of contemporary Spain's outstanding historians. The first six issues of the *Índice*, covering the period mid-1952 to mid-1954, are now brought together in this sturdily bound *Bibliografía*, which contains also comprehensive author and subject indexes and an essay by Vicens Vives on the state of present-day Spanish historical studies.

The *Índice*'s objectives have been superbly audacious: first, to register, both for Spain and foreign countries, all books, pamphlets, articles, and significant book reviews dealing with the history of Spain and Spanish America, Asia, Oceania, and Africa, each title to be accompanied by a summary of content and an objective indication of historical worth; and, secondly, to make this information available to scholars within three months after the item's appearance. The present compilation of 4,800 titles and summaries (6,871 entries) has been made by Vicens Vives, history faculty members and graduate students at Barcelona, and about fifteen specialists elsewhere. Of the latter, G. Céspedes del Castillo merits specific mention for his expansion of the colonial Spanish American section, which in current numbers of the *Índice* long antedates the parallel bibliographies of the *Revista de historia de América* and the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*. The practice of indicating through symbols the essential value of a work has had to be modified from its original robust frankness, but throughout this *Bibliografía* sufficient guidance is given to winnow the good grain from the abundant journalistic, polemical, or merely amateurish chaff.

Vicens' introductory essay deserves wide reading. Clearly and statistically he shows how the more technically demanding prehistoric, pre-Roman, Roman, Germanic, and early medieval Spanish periods are being neglected, while historians concentrate excessively upon the period 1200 to 1800. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries, on the other hand, are at once the poorest in trained investigators and the richest in dubious publications. Other major problems are touched

upon: the lack of university-trained historians, the benefits and disadvantages of domination of research and publication by the governmental agency of the Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, the current fad for local historical institutes and journals, and the excess of low-grade historical output.

Vicens Vives rightly sees the *Indice histórico español* and the *Bibliografía* as indispensable preliminaries to bringing Spanish historical research into line with that of Western scholarship in general. No better estimate of this initial volume's value need be attempted than its own highest accolade: two black discs, the symbol for an "obra que causa estado y representa un progreso considerable en la marcha de la historiografía."

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

ACTON ON HISTORY. By *Lionel Kochan*. (London: André Deutsch; New York: British Book Centre. 1954. Pp. 184. \$3.00.)

ON THE NATURE OF HISTORY: ESSAYS ABOUT HISTORY AND DISSIDENCE. By *James C. Malin*, Professor of History, University of Kansas. (Lawrence, Kans.: the Author. 1954. Pp. vii, 290. \$3.00.)

Acton will never be of much interest to any but a small band of devotees. A brief flurry of interest in him has already begun to subside. David Mathew and Gertrude Himmelfarb have told more about him than anyone had bothered to do before. Herbert Butterfield and a few others continue to rifle the boxes of notes at Cambridge. A New York house has put out some paper-backed essays for the cultured North American trade. But the enigma of Acton remains pretty much what it was before, and, for the few, the cult of Acton is the more attractive because of it. Lionel Kochan has crisply set about the business of probing Acton's mind for his views on history and its purpose. Better than anyone, he has succeeded in this task, demonstrating the dialectical approach which produced the oracular and maddening judgments. It turns out that Acton had a coherent theory, an unshakable scheme without internal contradictions—but with the fundamental defect of an emphasis upon the totality of individual freedom of will and choice, leading him into the absurdity of judging individuals as if they had no close relationship to their society. Hence the effort to apply personal standards of morality to the social order. This very considerable weakness aside, Acton's theory emerges in impressive proportions. Mr. Kochan shows that Acton's view resulted from the clash between his internal vision (sympathy, identification with the thing, person, idea under consideration) and his external vision (the concept of morality deriving from the dignity of human life), so that he arrived at a comprehension of history "both in its own light and in the light of that which was not history" (p. 75). Thus all history was contemporary history; there was nothing new under the sun. And from such pessimism Acton rescued himself by the belief that progress was inevitable since man, born to be respected, could not

reasonably remain in his sad historical state. Revolution was the key. Paradoxical though it seemed, the true revolution would end the imprisonment of man in history. "The unspoken assumption behind all Acton's theory of the task of history is the view that man cannot tolerate the reflection of his own degradation as held up to him in the mirror of history. . . . The truth sets man free but it does not leave him without guidance" (p. 135). As historian, Acton seems, on this reading, as commanding and as isolated as before, and perhaps, too, more essentially, pathetically self-placed beyond the realm of human possibilities.

If Acton in his time made something of a profession of high-minded loneliness, James C. Malin seems for his part determined to take on all comers, letting, as he likes to say, the chips fall where they may. Some of them certainly fall on his opponents, but not a few on Mr. Malin too. His profession is dissidence and, above all, the defense of outraged objectivity. Perhaps the central theme in the five interesting papers here considered (three others deal with peculiarly American themes beyond the capacity of this reviewer to consider) is that evil geniuses such as John Dewey and Carl Becker ought to be rooted out and exposed to the public gaze. With more repetition than success subjective historical relativism is denounced as a harbinger of "American Totalitarian Liberalism," an intellectual adjunct to the New Deal, a form of escapism from present realities, and so on. Benedetto Croce brewed the poison up, Charles A. Beard and some others eagerly drank it down, and the now celebrated Social Science Research Council Bulletin 54 promulgated their subsequent findings for the instruction of the faithful: History is what you make it, or There is no truth, or some such thing. What we need now is the antidote of old-fashioned positivism. A fact is a fact, Mr. Malin suggests, and the job of historians is to collect and record the facts. My feeling is that this is probably true and certainly desirable. Unfortunately, the writing of history can never really be reduced to the reconstruction of "the unique fact as past reality" (p. 22). Mr. Malin would be satisfied with "accurate analysis of historical situations and the accurate and adequate representation of them in written form" (p. 88), but then so might anyone else. When he goes on to suggest that "the doctrine of sufficient reason, or reasonable grounds to believe, is the maximum requirement essential to adequate representation and to proof of causation" (p. 88), one may well wonder whether he seriously considers this acceptable little formula the sole crux of written history. If so, there is nothing more to say. The mere denial of self and the present hardly constitutes a state of actuality. What astounds in these essays is the pristine vigor with which they announce that the goal of the historian is an impartial recreation of the past. One would have thought that this, like opposition to sin, was an old affair. To be brief, Mr. Malin seems unduly excited about American Totalitarian Liberalism's being hatched in the historian's nest. The case against the subjective relativists he spoils by exaggeration. His historical canons are in their own way impeccable, and those who follow them to the end may well raise themselves on

a tower of facts to the gates of heaven. Unfortunately for him, however, others who care about literary form and who admit their very present selves and limited capacity to transcend them, may find a larger following. The past is long and complex; life very short. The need to select and interpret is elemental and subjective, and, as Mr. Malin must fear, unending.

University of Toronto

JOHN C. CAIRNS

HISTORY AND THE SOCIAL WEB: A COLLECTION OF ESSAYS. By August C. Krey. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1955. Pp. ix, 269. \$4.00.)

THIS book is the result of a request from the authorities of the University of Minnesota Press to Professor Krey to publish a collection of his essays for which there was a continuing demand. We are now indebted both to the press and to Professor Krey for a book that enriches American scholarship and which will long be useful to students and scholars and delight the intelligent reading public. Practically all of the twelve essays have been previously published and many of them already hold places of importance in the bibliography of medieval history. There are, however, several advantages in having these writings brought together in one volume and there is greater unity to the book than the titles of the essays suggest. Even the major scholarly contributions are not easily available elsewhere.

Eight of the essays are placed under the caption "The Long Road Back" and by title obviously deal with the Middle Ages or the Renaissance. The four remaining ones form a section called "The Social Web: World-Wide and Time Deep." Their titles are "The Social Web," "What Is American History?" "Monte Cassino, Metten, and Minnesota," "History in an Age of Technology." The first essay sets the tone for the whole section and there the author cogently and vividly illustrates his conviction that "the usefulness of what is . . . a major necessity for any effective reconstruction of history" is "a knowledge both wide and deep of the myriad detail and intricate pattern of the social web" (p. 199). Judging by title alone, one might infer that in this section Professor Krey had deserted the medieval and Renaissance periods. There could be no greater error, for not only is the book a plea for students and scholars to look to our remote past but it is in itself a fine and convincing demonstration of the peril that awaits myopic historians who can find value and worth only in the contemporary world. The eight essays given in Part I contain a fine analysis of the significance of the decline of education following the collapse of Rome, the important study of "Urban's Crusade: Success or Failure?" the penetrating scrutiny of William of Tyre as historian, essays dealing with other medieval topics and with the Renaissance. Reprinted as one of the latter is the brilliant "A City That Art Built," an essay long out of print.

Restrictions of space prevent any discussion of the separate essays and since most of them have been already widely used their quality and worth are well known. This collection, however, now happily in the form of a book, is an important and welcome contribution from a distinguished American historian. Professor Krey shows in every essay the fine historian we know him to be. He approaches each task with great sincerity, and with scholarly modesty and acumen tells his story as he sees it. He pays affectionate tribute to his teachers and colleagues, especially to D. C. Munro, George C. Sellery, and Frederick J. Turner, and every page of this book shows how well he profited from these mentors. But he brings to his work gifts that are his alone. A clear mind, a will to find the truth, the strength of his own convictions, deep learning, imagination, and a historian's sensitivity for historical problems, plus the ability to write with distinction.

Northwestern University

GRAY C. BOYCE

AMERIGO AND THE NEW WORLD: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF AMERIGO VESPUCCI. By *Germán Arciniegas*. Translated from the Spanish by *Harriet de Onís*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1955. Pp. xvi, 323, ix. \$5.00.)

ARCINIEGAS has attempted to produce a readable and popular life of Amerigo Vespucci; accurate, yet with no pretense of offering the final scholarly word on the subject. Judged on that basis, the result is good enough to enlighten the general public and to give the specialist something profitable.

The author stresses the fact that no one hitherto has written of Vespucci "as a person" rather than as a figure in geographical history. His own evident difficulties with this biography somewhat explain the previous neglect of the discoverer's personal life. Amerigo lived fifty-eight years (1454-1512) and was important only during the last fifteen of them. Until leaving Florence in 1491, he was but a junior member of the moderately influential Vespucci family; the annals of the Medici era seldom mention him. Arciniegas, to avoid the dull and conventional procedure of repeating the few known biographical details of Amerigo's early years, discusses important Florentine events and characters, relating them as best he can to the future discoverer and his family. Domenico Ghirlandaio appears because, about 1473, he painted young Amerigo in a Vespucci family group. Sandro Botticelli is brought in for having several times painted Simonetta Vespucci, Amerigo's beautiful cousin by marriage. Such digressions are not without interest, but they get our hero off to a slow start.

During Amerigo's first years in Seville as a Medici employee and partner of Gianetto Berardi, biographical material is still scarce, so Columbus takes the center of Arciniegas' stage for a time. Only in 1497, with his life already three fourths lived, can Vespucci begin to move under his own power.

The author gives a good description of Amerigo's voyages. He has the source material in hand and knows the modern literature of the subject. He acknowledges four discovery voyages and suggests that Vespucci visited America a fifth time, though not to explore. In describing the expeditions he follows Roberto Levillier, author of the recent *América la bien llamada*. Following Levillier means rejecting the authority of the late Alberto Magnaghi, whose interpretation of the Vespucci letters involved cutting the voyages down to two. The present reviewer commends the author for this stand, though Arciniegas had better brace himself for unkind remarks sure to come from Italian critics. It should be added, however, that these Italians are as eager as Levillier and Arciniegas to establish the pre-eminence of Vespucci in explaining the riddle of the New World. All important factions now agree in reinstating Amerigo as the intellectual giant of the discovery period.

The final chapters describe the baptism of America in 1507 by Martin Waldseemüller and his Lorraine associates and give some review of the Vespuccian controversy from the writings of Las Casas to the most recent ones.

There are factual errors in the book, but these do not directly concern Vespucci. The author atones for his minor slips by displaying critical ability, and, at times, remarkable insight.

University of Illinois

CHARLES E. NOWELL

CHURCH AND SOCIETY: CATHOLIC SOCIAL AND POLITICAL
THOUGHT AND MOVEMENTS, 1789-1950. Edited by *Joseph N. Moody*.
(New York: Arts. 1953. Pp. 914. \$12.00.)

HERE is a 900-page compilation of Catholic social thought, inadequately edited yet extremely valuable, in which three separate topics—really three separate books—have been jumbled together. First, the relationship of church to state. Second, the relationship of church to industrial revolution. Third, the challenge of modern secularism: what the church calls exclusion of God from public life. The three topics are handled partly by essays from contemporary Catholics, country by country; partly by reprinting documents from the past, especially papal encyclicals and nineteenth-century Catholic periodicals. It is too late to urge reorganizing this material or publishing separate books; each reader must now do the editing himself. So doing, he may cavil at an occasional lack of proportion. For example, while wading through more trivial documents, the historian searches in vain (except for a couple of sentences on page 255) for the text of the 1944 Christmas message of Pius XII. Its conciliatory attitude toward international democracy, in obvious contrast with the 1864 Syllabus of Pius IX, would be particularly pertinent to this book's own purpose. The interested reader must, instead, turn for the 1944 text to *Catholic Mind*, February, 1945.

Yet it would be a pity if the excessive length, price, and disorganization

discourage potential readers. For the book can be extremely useful to scholar, regional specialist, and general reader alike. The scholar will find a thousand uses for its handy assembly of hitherto scattered documents. The regional specialist will welcome the first use in English of rare sources from Slavic Europe. The general reader will profit most from the French and American sections explaining social Catholicism; he may be surprised at the advanced views of many Catholic leaders (not merely Leo's familiar "Rerum Novarum") on labor and social reform and their humane objections to laissez-faire capitalism.

The editor is to be commended for his fair-minded balance of rival trends and for his inductive approach. Instead of theorizing deductively and abstractly about the relation of church to state, he presents the full concrete range of positions and thinkers actually involved. No monolithic Catholic position emerges about church control of state facilities; Spain is not the only Catholic formula. More democratic Catholics like Maritain give less rigid formulas and stress symbiosis, not control. Similarly the book's juxtaposition of socialist, capitalist, and feudal Catholics suggest that there is no Catholic "party line" on economics and tends to refute the loose analogy sometimes drawn between communism and Catholicism, as allegedly two totalitarian internationals with rigid dogmas on everything. Some of the documents here, especially from Maistre and Veuillot, are every whit as reactionary as any anticlerical alleges. But beside them, and equally Catholic, the book prints citations from the Catholic republican Ozanam and the Catholic socialist Buchez attacking the same authoritarians, from Gilson defending democracy, and from Suarez on the theme that "unbelievers should be allowed to practice their religion." The final impact of the book is to underline anew the catholicity of Catholicism.

Mount Holyoke College

PETER VIERECK

THE HISTORY OF UNILEVER: A STUDY IN ECONOMIC GROWTH AND SOCIAL CHANGE. In two volumes. By *Charles Wilson*, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. (London: Cassell and Company. 1954. Pp. xx, 335; 480. 45s.)

Like biographies of commanding personalities in the history of politics, the arts, and literature, studies of leading firms are an essential part of the special literature of economic history. The present study is a fine example of how much can be achieved from such a point of view. We have here a vivid and perceptive history of oils, fats, and their derivatives in soaps and margarine for about eighty years of critical change in technology and marketing. The study achieves unity and coherence through the progressive integration of key firms in the soap and margarine trades. The setting in which these firms developed is described in sufficient detail to give the whole account all the breadth that could be secured by a comprehensive history of the entire trade. Unless the scale of treatment were

greatly increased, however, the minor firms could not be given more attention without injury to the balance and proportion of the narrative.

In the end, these trades and industries achieved stability by the establishment of an amalgamation of firms that controlled less than fifty per cent of the raw materials and finished products. In the absence of general statistics of production in the United Kingdom and in Europe figures for total production cannot be given with any confidence. A cover jacket summary sets the processing of primary oils and fats by the amalgamated firms at one third of the world production (1929). There were moments when monopolies of particular sectors of these trades were deliberately sought. But neither horizontal nor vertical integration was ever carried far enough to constitute a genuine threat to the continuance of competition in the strict sense of the word. The special feature of this chapter of economic history, however, lies in the commanding importance of substitution, in the field of raw materials as well as finished products. Vegetable oils were competitive with animal fats for the consumer purchasing power of both soaps and edible fats.

Integration developed independently in Europe and in the United Kingdom, focused on the margarine trade in Europe and on the soap trade in the United Kingdom. Fears of penetration of each other's markets furnished powerful motives for further integration, but no significant unity was achieved until the regional groups were well consolidated. At the beginning of the century, it seemed likely that an effective association could be built up in the United Kingdom by voluntary agreement among the larger firms. The articles had been signed, but the participating firms withdrew under the impact of a violent attack upon them as monopolists led by Lord Northcliffe (1906). The press was successfully sued for libel, but the damage was irreparable, and for several years the rivalries of the large firms were intensified. Brunner Mond complicated the situation by a threat of monopoly of the alkalis used in soapmaking. Integration was finally achieved by the expansion of Lever Brothers and the absorption of a number of key firms (1919-1920).

In Europe the dominant firms were the two family firms, the Van der Berghs and the Jurgens. They were originally identified with the export of butter from the Low Countries and the Rhine Valley. The development of margarine resulted in a great increase in the volume of trade and created many new contacts for the purchase of animal fats in the United States and in Australia. These firms drew together before the First World War, and in the interwar period close associations were formed with Schicht of Bohemia. Amalgamation of the European and the British groups was negotiated just before the crash of 1929. It was not a distress measure. Union was designed to forestall overinvestment that might be induced by efforts to enter each other's markets.

The corporate structure is interesting. Independent corporations were chartered in Great Britain and in Holland, with identical boards of directors and

smaller special committees charged with all primary decisions of policy. Regional and functional units are given much freedom of initiative, so that there is a clear distinction between centralized policy control and decentralized administration of relatively independent budgetary units.

The study is based upon a rich documentation from the records of the companies. These are especially full for Lever Brothers. The first Lord Leverhulme kept diaries and wrote letters on every possible occasion. The development of his policies and purposes can be presented with more confidence than is usually possible. The Van der Bergh and Jurgens records offer more statistical material. The general literature supplies primary sources for the history of technology and the development of the markets.

Harvard University

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES: A HISTORY OF ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 1783-1952. By *H. C. Allen*, Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1955. Pp. 1024. \$10.00.)

THIS first full-dress survey of Anglo-American relations in about forty years is the work of a Briton, a former Commonwealth Fund Fellow and Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and the present holder of the chair of American history at the University of London. It is only in small part based upon primary sources; the books and articles of Bailey, Bemis, Brebner, Wilmot, Morison and Com-mager, and others have been freely used. In the presentation of material and in the statement of conflicting points of view there is a manifest effort at balance and fairness, but the author does have a positive and frequently expressed belief in the value of Anglo-American co-operation in the past and in its imperative necessity in the present. It is appropriate to his message that he opens and closes with quotations from Sir Winston Churchill to the effect that the affairs of the British Commonwealth and of the United States will have to be mixed up together for some time to come and that their partnership will be to the advantage of the rest of the world. For Anglophiles and Anglophobes alike there are materials for reflection. For the former there is much on the early British aristocrat's disdain for democracy, the sometimes irritating assumption of superiority, and the failure to make allowances for the problems of frontier communities—facts to enable those emotionally drawn to Britain to understand their importance as obstacles to good feeling. For the latter there are facts to dispel some of the misconceptions of British foreign and colonial policies—areas in which American understanding lagged so far behind reality that even such good friends of Britain as President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull could think of British colonialism mainly as an evil relic of the past. It should be revealing likewise to most Americans to read of Anglo-American relations, in 1812, for example, with a

Briton's understanding of European background, and it should be helpful to view some American policies and actions as seen by Canadians.

The book is divided into four sections. The first is analytical. It is concerned with the geographic, economic, political, social, and cultural factors that have combined to give these countries affinities unusual among the nations and to provide the basis for the present close co-operation. The other three are historical. They deal with the nature of the Anglo-American relationship and with the shifting balance within it, from the beginning when Great Britain was in every way the superior power to the present in which the situation is almost completely reversed. The organization here is from the American side, because from the British point of view Anglo-American relations have usually been incidental and secondary, while from the American they have been continuously important and dominant. So "Part II, Emancipation," deals with the Revolution and its aftermath and "Part III, Isolation" with the well-known disputes of the nineteenth century. "Part IV, World Power" is written on such a scale that it fills nearly half the book. Here, so far as Anglo-American relations are concerned, is the story of the United States' emergence as a world power, its participation in a great war and attempted return to isolationism, and its final acceptance of responsibility in a second war, in the United Nations, and in the cold war. In the most complete unification of effort and policy ever achieved by two allied nations engaged in a great struggle, the author finds the culmination of his theme of the importance and necessity of close Anglo-American co-operation.

Stanford University

CARL F. BRAND

JAPANESE AND AMERICANS: A CENTURY OF CULTURAL RELATIONS. By *Robert S. Schwantes*. (New York: Harper and Brothers for Council on Foreign Relations. 1955. Pp. xi, 380. \$4.00.)

INTERNATIONAL cultural relations is a difficult area for systematic study. Its importance is generally conceded, but the intangibles of cultural contacts between citizens of different nations and their consequences frequently lead an investigator to examine the more manageable and precise economic, political, diplomatic, and military aspects of international relations. It is pleasing therefore to read an excellent study in international cultural relations, historically presented and written with regard to the total international scene. Dr. Schwantes has examined the cultural relations between Japan and the United States during the last century, discussing a wide diversity of themes in surprising detail, and with frank recognition of the difficulties of analysis and appraisal.

The plan of the book is to examine Japanese-American cultural contacts in three major areas: economic co-operation, political institutions and ideology, and education. This is followed by a treatment of the "Channels of Communication" between the two peoples through teachers, students, missionaries, public and private contacts, and exchange of cultural materials.

Most readers, no doubt, will be amazed at the extent of planned co-operative activities between Japanese and Americans since the imperial restoration nearly a century ago. As he follows these students the author frequently refers to a fundamental and troublesome question, namely, of what importance are these contacts. Japanese-American contacts have been gratifying in the past yet the problems between the two nations were not mastered and the situation degenerated to war. Dr. Schwantes concludes that when economic and political issues are given a minimum adjustment, sympathetic and honestly developed cultural contacts are of substantial importance. He suggests that a strong cultural program should be maintained in Japan and that Japanese-American co-operation "within a world community" may well be basic in future foreign policy.

It is a pleasure to read the book for in addition to the extensive and interesting examination of specific cultural contacts, there are balanced but clear suggestions for policy maker and citizen. Among them, as examples, are: (1) It is a matter of great difficulty to get accurate knowledge of the national character of a people and we know relatively little about the Japanese. (2) The American people have a responsibility, from the years before World War II, for "a failure of understanding, an inability to assess correctly the course of events in Japan and to make an adequate response." (3) The position of the liberal citizen in a totalitarian state is tragically difficult; when he eventually conforms to the demands of his society, he should not be lightly condemned by others far from the scene of his struggle.

In a final suggestive chapter on "Experience and Expectation" Dr. Schwantes makes some significant statements. He emphasizes the importance of studying the problems of cultural relations with *other* Asian nations. This study of Japan can be a useful guide in these projects. Based on careful historical study and concerned with contemporary and future issues, this book should be read by scholar and layman.

The bibliography of Japanese sources is impressive. A lengthy and critical bibliographical essay will be useful to serious students. In this volume the Council on Foreign Relations continues its valued interest in significant scholarship.

Michigan State University

WALTER R. FEE

LES DÉLIBÉRATIONS DU CONSEIL DES QUATRE (24 MARS-28 JUIN 1919): NOTES DE L'OFFICIER INTERPRÈTE. By *Paul Mantoux*. Volume I, JUSQU'A LA REMISE A LA DÉLÉGATION ALLEMANDE DES CONDITIONS DE PAIX. Volume II, DEPUIS LA REMISE A LA DÉLÉGATION ALLEMANDE DES CONDITIONS DE PAIX JUSQU'A LA SIGNATURE DU TRAITÉ DE VERSAILLES. (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique. 1955. Pp. 521, 579. 1,800 fr. each.)

THESE two volumes constitute an exciting and important contribution to the history of the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, the most important since the

publication of the Hankey minutes in the American *Foreign Relations* series a decade ago. They consist of the notes taken by Paul Mantoux, chief interpreter, in the discussions of the Council of Four which had authoritative direction of the affairs of the conference. They cover all the meetings of the Four from their first, March 24, 1919, to the final gathering on June 28, immediately after the signing of the Versailles Treaty. Every morning Mantoux dictated for the use of Clemenceau the notes which formed the basis of his interpretations during the preceding discussion. They were not submitted to the other members of the Four and are not in any sense official *comptes rendus*. But in certain respects they are of even greater value to the historian than the Hankey documents which, until now and except for the limited Aldrovandi Marescotti papers, provided our only first-hand source for these discussions.

It was only on April 19 that Sir Maurice Hankey, acting as official secretary of the Four, began his regular attendance at their meetings. The gap of nearly four weeks from the first meeting is filled by Mantoux' notes. Of 148 meetings which he records, 37 are not included in the Hankey series. These meetings dealt with matters of the utmost importance: among others, the Foch proposals of a "cordon sanitaire" in the east and his arguments for the Rhine as the permanent strategic frontier of France; Clemenceau's objections to Lloyd George's arguments for more liberal treatment of Germany in his Fontainebleau memorandum; the early discussions of the reparations problem at the top level when it became clear that the experts had reached an impasse.

Even when the Mantoux notes parallel the Hankey minutes they provide a vivacity of atmosphere and of personal color that is not possible in the more formal indirect discourse of the English record. Everyone who listened to Mantoux' interpretations in the larger Council of Ten would attest the artistry of his reproduction not merely of the language but of the innate quality of the speaker. This genius is manifest in his notes of the discussions of the Four. No characterization of the leaders of the conference can compare with the self-expression that emerges from their own words recorded in the first person. Not unnaturally it is Clemenceau who stands out most strongly. There is no published document of the conference that approaches in persuasive force his exposition of the necessities, the sentiments, and the policies of the French nation. This is political rhetoric not surpassed in grandeur by any other modern statesman, not even by Winston Churchill.

Earlier estimates of the Four will need revision in the light of these notes. Maynard Keynes's brilliant sketch becomes a fantastic caricature. The interchange of their views was straightforward, courteous, and informed by a sense of international responsibility as well as by loyalty to national interest. Explanation of various questions hitherto unclarified is to be found in these volumes. Americans, especially, will note Wilson's frank admission that he desired the Covenant incorporated in the treaty so as to facilitate its acceptance by the Senate.

The mystery of the insertion of Article 231, the "guilt clause," is elucidated. It was suggested by Norman Davis as a means of satisfying the French demand for Germany's admission of total responsibility without infringing the terms of the pre-armistice agreement. Clemenceau regarded the problem as merely one of drafting—"redaction." But this solution was later to provide Hitler with a powerful moral weapon.

New Haven, Connecticut

CHARLES SEYMOUR

SOCIAL FORCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Edited by *Sydney Nettleton Fisher*. [Papers Presented at a Conference Sponsored by the Committee on the Near and Middle East of the Social Science Research Council.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1955. Pp. xvi, 282. \$5.00.)

EXCEPT for two chapters and parts of two others, this symposium is devoted to the Near or Middle East outside Israel. The two contributions concerned with Israel, B. D. Weinryb, "The Israeli Farmer" and R. Patai, "The Immigrant in Israel," exhibit the more mature status of social science research in the Israeli field in comparison with research in the Arab, Persian, and Turkish fields. Both the value and the deficiencies of the contributions concerned with the Islamic Near East result, in fact, from the virtually primitive condition of scholarly and scientific research with respect to this area of the world. All the contributors are specialists and present the results and conclusions of their own research and experience. The book is therefore a valuable and reliable introduction to the area for the nonspecialist.

The reader, however, should be reminded that the Near East is a very large area comprising a wide variety of conditions and having the oldest history in the world. The qualifications stated by Stauffer, Hurewitz, and Richardson are applicable to the other papers also. Two papers, Dalton Potter, "The Bazaar Merchant," and the splendid "The Industrial Worker," by Thomas B. Stauffer, present the results of their authors' researches in fields hitherto unexplored. The problems and complexities of two areas in which the United States government has been active are described from first-hand experience in C. B. Richardson, "The Palestine Arab Refugee," and P. G. Franck, "Economic Planners." More familiar topics are treated with fresh viewpoints and new material in E. A. Speiser, "Cultural Factors in Social Dynamics in the Near East," C. S. Coon, "The Nomads," D. D. Crary, "The Villager," C. Issawi, "The Entrepreneur Class," S. R. Shafaq, "The Clergy in Islam," and J. C. Hurewitz, "The Minorities in the Political Process." Those interested in why the Near East is an area of crisis will probably be most interested in Majid Khadduri, "The Army Officer: His Role in Middle Eastern Politics," T. C. Young, "The Crisis in the Near East," and W. C. Smith, "The Intellectuals in the Modern Development of the Islamic World." The most significant diagnosis of the nature of the crisis in the

Near East seems to me to be Smith's characterization of "a synthesis . . . of the Islamic religious tradition with an intellectualist perspicacity of modernity" as "the area's most fundamental need."

University of Illinois

C. ERNEST DAWN

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1938. In Five Volumes. Volume I, GENERAL. Volume II, THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH, EUROPE, NEAR EAST AND AFRICA. [Department of State Publications 5775 and 5798.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1955. Pp. viii, 1009; vii, 1136. \$4.00.)

THE subtitles of these routine volumes are customary rather than descriptive. Volume I contains documents on a score of topics that may properly be classed as *General* (e.g., the pursuit of peace, naval escalation, our claim to the South Pole, the international control of whaling); but the volume is mainly concerned with the continuing war in Spain, Hitler's seizure of Austria, and the German-Czech crisis with its specious denouement at Munich. Volume II is a miscellany of documents relating to the rights and property of American citizens. The most frequently recurrent topic is the negotiation of reciprocal trade agreements, so that Mr. Hull is the key figure in this volume as Hitler is in the other.

Publication of these documents seventeen years after the portentous events to which they relate is at least anticlimactic. British and German documents for 1938 have been available for some years and many foreign office files, including our own, have been exploited by scholars and statesmen for a longer time. The editor of *Foreign Relations* assures us that "a program of accelerated publication has been undertaken" but he perhaps wisely does not say whether the aim is eventually to narrow the old standard gap of fifteen years.

How do we look in these official volumes as Hitler tramped on? The appearance is that throughout 1938 peace was the key to our policy but it was not unlocking anything. The Roosevelt-Welles plan for promoting peace by getting all nations to subscribe to a code of international conduct never reached the fetal stage. Mr. Chamberlain, asked for comment, feared it might cross up his own plan to promote peace by the appeasement of Hitler and Mussolini which he was about hopefully to undertake (Jan. 14, I, 118-19). Hitler's annexation of Austria two months later did not splice nicely with the British approach to peace, but it lent substance to Chamberlain's doubt that the American plan was particularly timely. Mr. Hull's approach to peace through rather sharply bargained trade agreements also lacked something in timing. While Hitler was on the march, Mr. Hull was bullying the British into an agreement whose awkward, often stalemated negotiation lasted a full year. On August 19 Mr. Hull told the British ambassador that the concessions on lumber, lard, tobacco, and hams which we insisted on "as a matter of plain justice to this country" were politically essential:

without them there would be "sweeping attacks" on "the whole policy of reciprocity and peace clear across the country, from the Ohio River to the Pacific Ocean, which area comprises the corn and hog belt, and, farther west, the lumber belt." Mr. Hull said he had been wondering whether the British indisposition to make a "paltry concession" on these four commodities was linked with the British government's utter failure ever to give its support to "this wholesome peace-making program of trade restoration." Sir Ronald Lindsay, Mr. Hull reported, "seemed a little surprised and a little at a loss to make any really responsive reply."

The theme of peace appeared also at the climax of the Sudeten crisis when Mr. Roosevelt made his eloquent appeal to Hitler and the next day the department began trying to get every government in the world to do likewise in line with our belief "in the cumulative value of this type of international appeal" (I, 766-68). But this effort in personal and collective persuasion did no more for peace than the President's earlier idea of a code of decent behavior or Mr. Hull's demand for tariff concessions from a friendly nation that had just gone a billion dollars in the red in its annual trade balance with us.

If this were the complete story, the conclusion must be that in 1938 we were flapping our wings without getting off the ground. Actually, however, these volumes provide an inadequate basis for saying what we were up to; ironically the reader can learn a great deal about almost anyone's foreign policy but our own in them. While the German-Czech crisis developed from May to October (I, 483-707) the State Department received some 150 reports from the field and was most energetically informed by Mr. Kennedy in London and Mr. Bullitt in Paris. But during this period virtually nothing was sent out to the embassies to acquaint them with the administration's views, estimates of events, or evolving policy. Once late in the Sudeten affair Mr. Kennedy tried to get his superiors to give him some notion of our official attitude, but Mr. Hull wired him in effect to see the *New York Times*: recent speeches of the President and himself "accurately reflect the attitude of this Government toward the European and world situation . . ." (I, 566, 568). It is astonishing to learn that the Secretary of State could not say more in code to his ambassador than the administration had given the entire world in speech and press release.

But the significant development in our policy in this period was not avowed. The administration was increasingly conscious of the inefficacy of old nostrums, and its attitude toward Hitler was rapidly stiffening. But warned by the outcry that followed the "Quarantine Speech" of October, 1937, and determined to raise no false hopes in London and Paris, the administration communicated its changing attitude less in words than in facial expression, gesture, muscular tension. *Documents on German Foreign Policy* shows that the German ambassador understood this type of sign language, for he earnestly warned his government not to count us out if war came. On September 27 Dr. Diekhoff wired Berlin

that the American government was doing everything it could "to suppress the existing but decreasing isolationist tendency . . . so that when the moment comes the whole weight of the United States can be thrown into the scale on the side of Britain . . ." (Ser. D, II, 982). The ambassador was jumping ahead in the story, but he was accurately reporting a trend in our policy that our own diplomatic record scarcely suggests.

Bennington College

THOMAS P. BROCKWAY

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1939-1946: THE REALIGNMENT OF EUROPE. Edited by *Arnold Toynbee* and *Veronica M. Toynbee*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xvi, 619.)

Few themes rival in historical importance and contemporary interest the theme of this massive, well-written, and informative volume: the reorganization of what had been Nazi Europe into two new blocs of states, one dominated by the Soviet, the other by America and Britain. The co-authors of this volume, under the direction of the editors, Professor and Mrs. Arnold J. Toynbee, have skillfully accumulated, evaluated, and presented the available data on their various specialties. Mr. Toynbee contributes a valuable and provocative introduction on the uprooting of populations by the Nazi and the Soviet, the significant frontier changes made during and after the war, the problems created by the power vacuum after the Nazi defeat in central and eastern Europe, the reasons for the breach between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union, and the factors for and against stability of the governments established in postwar Europe. The historical background and perspectives he furnishes are brilliantly put. But his analyses and judgments on several situations he considers are deficient in their failure to take into consideration various strategic factors, as well as certain relevant contemporary and recent historical data that either do not fit into his system of values and philosophy of history, or that he ignores for other reasons. These inconvenient facts invalidate some of his key theses and generalizations. For example, he stresses as a reason for the conflict between the Big Three on post-war issues in eastern and central Europe the desire by the leaders of the Soviet Union for security against future invasions from the West. But he ignores the consistent adherence to the ultimate strategic objective of world revolution and world power by the rulers of the U.S.S.R., the Communist International, and the Cominform, whatever tactical twists and "united fronts" they have devised or might adopt on certain occasions. He also neglects the record of Soviet ruthlessness to anti-Nazi groups that were also resistant to Soviet domination, such as the Polish officers killed by the NKVD in the Katyn massacre in 1939 or 1940, or the non-Soviet leaders and supporters of the Polish underground, including Socialists, once they were liberated from the Germans. In the light of these facts and later developments one may question the wisdom and mag-

namity of Toynbee's criticisms of the Polish government-in-exile's resistance to Soviet proposals concerning the frontiers and government of postwar Poland. The optimism of Roosevelt and Churchill on winning Soviet Russia over to a gentlemen's agreement on a balance of power and postwar peace may have seemed justified during the war but no impartial historian should continue to criticize the minority groups who then seemed intransigent, obstinate, and unrealistic but who were proved right in their forecasts of Soviet postwar behavior.

The first steps toward European economic rehabilitation are treated by R. G. Hawtrey in a useful, but all-too-brief essay on the economic consequences of the war that should have been several times larger to do justice to the subject or the distinguished author's analytical powers. F. Ashton-Gwatkin gives an excellent survey of the relief and rehabilitation activities of UNRRA, although he passes over some of its defects and the fact that distribution of UNRRA aid to areas dominated by pro-Soviet governments, as in Poland, was controlled by the Communists wherever possible. In Part II, Sidney Lowery relates with punctilious scholarship and considerable critical acumen the history of the way in which Soviet-satellite governments, in varying degrees, won out against the anti-Soviet parties and popular majorities in Poland, the Baltic states, Finland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary. Hugh Seton-Watson untangles the complicated story of Yugoslavia and Albania, and Elizabeth Wiskemann that of Czechoslovakia. Lowery is unjust in his criticism of the Poles (p. 157); additional light is thrown on certain episodes and problems by the recently published State Department book, *The Conferences at Malta and Yalta*, and by Ygael Gluckstein, *Stalin's Satellites in Europe* (1952). Wiskemann's criticisms of the efficiency of Czechoslovakian private industry are questionable; a more critical and profound study of the economy and government is to be found in I. Gadourek, *The Political Control of Czechoslovakia* (1953).

The checkered chronicle of Greece, 1944-1946 is set down by William McNeill, with fairness to all factions, although without sufficient stress on the strategic importance of certain events leading to the present precarious hegemony of the Western Powers in the Aegean and the Mediterranean. Katherine Duff recounts the liberation of Italy from the Nazis and Fascists; Margaret Carlyle analyzes the territorial provisions of the Allied peace treaty with Italy. Viscount Chilston successfully covers the pre- and post-liberation conflicts and shifting regimes down to 1946-1947 in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway. Duff is too pessimistic about possible Italian economic resurgence (pp. 447-48); Chilston oversimplifies the class struggle in France (p. 482) by omitting the role of the peasants. Nevertheless, historians must be grateful for the order and intelligibility that the Royal Institute of International Affairs is contributing to the chaos of events in World War II, even if much that is set down here will later have to be revised.

Rutgers University

SIDNEY RATNER

THE WAR AT SEA, 1939-1945. Volume I, THE DEFENSIVE. By Captain S. W. Roskill RN. [History of the Second World War, United Kingdom Military Series.] (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office; New York: British Information Services. 1954. Pp. xxii, 664. \$9.00.)

THE author of this comprehensive work has undertaken "to tell the story of the maritime war in all its aspects." A big job, admirably accomplished. The writing is done with a careful assurance which derives from the author's combination of experience and scholarship.

This volume covers the period from September 3, 1939, to the Pearl Harbor attack, beginning with four chapters of background on maritime war and strategy, and Britain's part in that scheme of things—perfect preparation for all that follows.

While "the outlook of the writer is predominantly naval," this detracts nothing from the worth of the book as a contribution to history. Starting with the cabinet and working down through all levels of command, the details of organization are clear and complete. The activities of sister services, as they pertain to maritime aspects of the war, are well covered. Strategy, tactics, and actions are presented in careful detail from Britain's side but with enough attention to her allies and antagonists "to provide a proper balance in the story." The short-of-war role of the United States is developed clearly and accurately in the text and neatly summarized in an appendix which outlines "Moves by the United States Government affecting the War at Sea, 1939-41." Through his use of the German naval records the author has avoided one-sidedness. Detail which could easily have been burdensome is presented deftly. For example, tables of statistics appear in the text where they are most meaningful to the general reader; but there are also seventeen appendixes largely of statistics for the thorough researcher. Cartography is outstanding in clarity and neatness, the product of careful planning and skillful drafting. A 43-page index has served dependably on every occasion in my months of using the volume. Good photographs, some of paintings by capable combat artists, make up the illustrations.

Captain Roskill's forthright presentation leaves no doubt that his every fact can be documented, yet it might be wished that more of his sources had been presented in specific detail even though many of them "are certain not to be made public . . . for many years." But his statements of opinion are as convincing as his presentation of facts is honest. One may query the statement: "On our side disagreements were, inevitably, fairly frequent, but if they were not resolved by the appropriate inter-service body they could be referred to a higher authority and finally, if need be, to the War Cabinet. Once the decision was made all services then loyally abided by it." In view of the long history of inter-service squabbles in the United States, never really settled by mandate from above, one cannot help wondering whether the British chain of command was ever so well oiled as this.

Washington, D.C.

ROGER PINEAU

Ancient and Medieval History

THE IDEA OF HISTORY IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST. Edited by Robert C. Dentan. Preface by Julian Obermann. [American Oriental Series, Volume XXXVIII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1955. Pp. xiii, 376. \$5.00.)

THE realization that interpretation and synthesis are urgently needed in the independent philological disciplines devoted to the ancient Near East inspired these nine lectures, which were delivered in 1952-1953 at Yale University. To provide an authentic insight into the several civilizations of the ancient Near East, one comprehensive problem was selected for treatment by specialists in the various disciplines. The reason for choosing the "idea of history" for this purpose is stated by Paul Schubert in the concluding lecture ("The Twentieth-Century West and the Ancient Near East"): "20th-century Western culture's intense and fateful preoccupation with its own idea of history."

The contributors were directed "to define such concepts of the past as may be found to be expressed or implied in the monuments or inscriptions of a given culture, as well as in its legends, songs, proverbs, liturgies, epics, and the like" (p. vii). In each instance the result is as much a history of ideas as it is a study of the idea of history, for in the ancient Near East the idea of history "has to be pieced together from the incidental reflections of that idea in sundry phases of the underlying civilization" (p. 39). The resulting broad surveys of the salient features of these civilizations, together with the generally excellent scholarly apparatus of references and selected bibliographies and index, give these lectures an uncommon interest.

As for the idea of history, these studies make it plain that while R. G. Collingwood was perhaps premature in asserting that "our forerunners in civilization did not possess what we call the idea of history," yet his conclusion still stands: "two forms of quasi-history, theocratic history and myth, dominated the whole of the Near East until the rise of Greece." (*The Idea of History*, pp. 12, 16.)

The validity of the claim that "each lecture will be found to offer . . . a distinct and indeed novel contribution to Near Eastern research" (p. viii) must be determined by those readers who are themselves specialists in the various fields covered. To this reviewer, the essays which best fulfill the purpose of the symposium, and which stand out as pioneer studies that will interest specialists, are E. A. Speiser's comprehensive treatment of "Ancient Mesopotamia," Erich Dinkler's closely reasoned "Earliest Christianity," and the revealing essay on "Early Islam" by Julian Obermann. Of less interest to specialists, perhaps, but of great value as concise formulations by eminent scholars of the ramifications of the concept of history in their fields of interest, are the essays on "Ancient Persia" (George G. Cameron), "Ancient Israel" (Millar Burrows), and "Patristic Christianity" (Roland H. Bainton). Of lesser interest—at least to this reviewer—are

the essays on "Ancient Egypt" (Ludlow Bull) and "The Hellenistic Orient" (C. Bradford Welles). The former reaches conclusions directly opposite to those of the "father of history," Herodotus, who found the Egyptians "much the best historians of any nation of which I have had experience" (II, 77); and the latter narrows severely the concept of history in concentrating its efforts "to explain through the mentality of the Hellenistic East the transition from the older notions [Hellenic 'energy and optimism'] to the newer ones ['resignation and humility']" (p. 139).

Tulane University

NELS M. BAILKEY

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN GREEK AND ROMAN HISTORY. By J. A. O. Larsen. [Sather Classical Lectures, Volume XXVIII.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1955. Pp. vii, 249. \$4.00.)

EVERY historian of antiquity is concerned with the so-called "Decline and Fall" of states and systems in antiquity, primarily that of the Roman Empire in the third and fourth centuries of our era, but also those of the Hellenistic kingdoms in the first and of the Greek cities in the fourth centuries B.C. Change is the law of history, of course, but these changes were both dramatic and, from some points of view, undesirable. They may be rationalized in the convenient way in which historians, like God, manage to be on the side of the biggest battalions, but, in searching their causes, we inevitably come to wonder whether the adoption of a different political structure in any of the three instances by the losing party might have enabled it to survive. Did the Greek cities fall before Philip because they were unable to unite? Did the leagues and monarchies of the Hellenistic world fall before Rome because they would not co-operate? Did the Roman Empire collapse before the barbarians because its people had become politically inept and indifferent? As Professor Larsen himself asks, "Did free institutions fail because there was too much monarchy or was there too much monarchy because free institutions had failed?" These questions have led him to the investigation of the type of *Staatenbund* or *Bundesstaat* which the Greeks called *koina* and the Romans *communia*, for which he prefers the translation "Confederacy" rather than "League," and so to the study of a type of political organization where representation is natural. Such confederacies existed throughout antiquity, from the Peloponnesian League of Sparta in the sixth century B.C. to the provincial assemblies of the late Roman Empire. They are the "Representative Governments" of the present book, and their history is outlined in eight chapters and a useful appendix, wherein are listed and analyzed the recorded meetings of the assemblies of the Achaean League. It is an interesting and suggestive survey.

The material is difficult. No ancient writer has given us a satisfactory descrip-

tion of these *koina*, and the best known among them, that of the Achaeans, is sufficiently obscure to enable Larsen to discover drastic but hitherto unsuspected constitutional changes in 217 B.C. No ancient theoretician was interested in "general political legislative action, by one man in an assembly on behalf of others," government (i.e., legislation) by a group of "authorized agents or deputies" who "derived their authority from the constituencies which returned them," to borrow the language of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. It may be that the ancients favored the executive over the legislative branch. When, in an interesting passage to which Larsen calls attention, Aristotle (*Politics* 1298 a/b) describes representation, he calls it a form of oligarchy. The later Roman provincial assemblies were certainly "representative" in a sense, though their delegates were chosen from the wealthy classes by the city *curiae*, not elected from all the people in free and general elections, but they "did little governing" (p. 144). The pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic leagues did a good deal of governing, but were certainly not representative in the modern sense. They employed assemblies of delegates reflecting in their number the size of the member community from which they came; just so the Athenian council represented the Attic demes, but that was in rotation, with all demesmen expected to serve in the council in their turn. In any case, the duties of the Athenian council were not primarily nor principally legislative, and there is a certain risk in using the modern term for agencies which were mainly administrative.

It is impossible here to do more than to suggest a certain logical difficulty in Larsen's title. On the other hand, it is proper to insist on the thorough and scholarly manner in which he has assembled and discussed the scattered and obscure evidence for the nature and functioning of the ancient "confederacies." His treatment is at once cautious and resolute. He is compelled to rely largely on inference and analogy, but his confidence in the growth and spread of representation is unshaken. The ancient "world relied too exclusively on strong men for salvation," but "the combination of the ideas of the brotherhood of man and world monarchy is the nearest" it "came to giving practical application to those ideals which are represented in modern times by the League of Nations and the United Nations" (p. 157). The free confederacies might have done better, and the confederacies of the Roman Empire raised the hope of some self-government and organized public opinion. Whatever was wrong with the ancient world, these attempts at representation were right, and we can only regret their lack of decisive success.

Yale University

C. BRADFORD WELLES

ROMAN CIVILIZATION: SELECTED READINGS. Volume I, THE REPUBLIC. Volume II, THE EMPIRE. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold. [Records of Civilization,

Sources and Studies, No. 45.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951, 1955. Pp. ix, 544; ix, 652. \$12.50 the set.)

VOLUME I of this set begins with an introduction on the sources for both the Republic and Empire, and continues with a selection from the sources of Roman history down to 27 B.C. The arrangement is largely chronological, with separate chapters on provincial and home administration and social developments. The second volume carries the selection through the reign of Constantine; one chapter portrays the Augustan Age, four analyze aspects of the early Empire (A.D. 14-192), one covers the third century, and the last three deal with the army, law, and religions (including Christianity in its imperial relations).

A diligent student, who read these 1200 pages straight through, would wind up with either a remarkable accumulation of information or, more likely, a severe case of mental indigestion; for the scene shifts rapidly in time and place from one snippet to the next. It would scarcely be feasible to use these volumes instead of formal texts in undergraduate courses, attractive though the idea might be.

Dispensed in proper doses, however, the materials should enrich and deepen tremendously a student's knowledge; and the pages are a delight for the browser. Especially in the Empire the rich variety of our epigraphic, papyrological, and literary evidence must bring to the dullest mind a sense of life: take for instance the Gallic plasterer whose tombstone (II, 285) advises the reader, "Go bathe in the baths of Apollo, as I used to do with my wife—I wish I still could."

Every man would make a different selection from this great variety; Lewis and Reinhold have included virtually all the really important documents, have combed the sources diligently, and have organized their material well under appealing headings. Only the section on science and pseudo-science in the Empire seems poorly chosen in some of its items and in its omission of astrology.

This collection of sources must rank high for its competence, clarity, and aid to the reader. The translations, often original, are clear. The introductions in each section are accurate, precise, and really helpful. In volumes of this type, the notes of explanation and cross-reference are often the weakest part, now verbose, now inadequate or trivial; Lewis and Reinhold must be commended particularly for the brevity of their notes, which yet occur at just the right places and manifest a really remarkable knowledge of Roman development.

The bibliography, restricted to works in English, is full and up-to-date, and the interpretations in the text suggest that the authors have read the books and articles they cite. Each volume has a glossary, an index of authors, and a general index; the latter, which is full, makes up in part for an overly brief table of contents. The volumes are well printed and almost without misprints, remarkable when one considers the quantity and diversity of materials.

University of Illinois

CHESTER G. STARR

A HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES. *Kenneth M. Setton*, Editor-in-Chief. Volume I, THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS. Edited by *Marshall W. Baldwin*, Professor of History, New York University. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1955. Pp. xxvi, 694. \$12.00.)

THIS is the first of a five-volume set on the Crusades. The others will be: *The Later Crusades, 1189-1311* (ed. Robert Lee Wolff), *The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (ed. Harry W. Hazard), *Civilization and Institutions* (ed. Jeremiah O'Sullivan), and *Influences and Consequences, with Genealogies and Bibliography* (ed. Gray C. Boyce). It is an impressive project. Judging by the performance of Volume I the editors and the other members of the advisory board (Frederic Duncalf, August C. Krey, Austin P. Evans, Sidney Painter, and Joseph R. Strayer), may be counted on to produce the standard comprehensive collaborative work in English on the subject.

In the present volume Sidney Painter leads off with "Western Europe on the Eve of the Crusades." Chapter II, "Cross and Crescent in the Mediterranean before the First Crusade," is divided into four parts dealing respectively with the reconquest of Spain (Benjamin W. Wheeler), the Italian cities and the Arabs (Hilmar C. Krueger), the Norman Conquest of Sicily (Robert S. Lopez), and the Pilgrimages to Palestine (Sir Hamilton A. R. Gibb). If unity of subject matter was thought to justify this, there was even better reason for putting under one head the chapters on the First Crusade: VIII (by Frederic Duncalf), and IX and X (by Steven Runciman). Chapters III-VI provide the Near Eastern backdrop, whose subject matters are: the caliphate and the Arab states (by H. A. R. Gibb), the Isma'ilites and the Assassins (by Bernard Lewis), the invasion of the Selchükids (by Claude Cahen), and the Byzantine Empire in the eleventh century (by Peter Charanis). Frederic Duncalf then takes up the Councils of Piacenza and Clermont, upon which follow the aforementioned chapters on the First Crusade and one on the Crusade of 1101 by James Lea Cate. The principle of grouping could have been applied to chapters XII and XIII, in which Harold S. Fink narrates the foundation of the Latin states, 1099-1118, and Robert L. Nicholson their growth from 1118 to 1144. Then successively come: H. A. R. Gibb on Zengi and the fall of Edessa, Virginia G. Berry on the Second Crusade, H. A. R. Gibb on the career of Nur-ad-Din; and the Latin states under Baldwin III and Amalric I, 1143-1174 (by Marshall W. Baldwin), the rise of Saladin, 1169-1189 (by H. A. R. Gibb), the decline and fall of Jerusalem, 1174-1189 (by Marshall W. Baldwin).

One who is no specialist in the Crusades but who devotes five or six class hours to them in a year's survey of medieval history (which describes this reviewer) is likely to scrutinize this book with care, for he is concerned with being brought up-to-date on scholars and scholarship in the field and in new reading matter calculated to hold the interest of the students who either do not or do major in history. As such it invites comparison with Steven Runciman's three

volumes. For sheer continuous readableness it cannot compete with the latter. Not all have Professor Runciman's gift of style, and even some who have it labor under the handicap of being limited to a narrative of politics, war, and diplomacy—e.g., there are almost no close-ups of the actors, such as one finds in the vignettes of Peter the Hermit and Nur-ad-Din in Runciman (see his work, I, 113, and II, 398). However, the editors seem to have had readableness in mind, for the arrangement and dovetailing of subject matters have made the book read like a continuous narrative. There is some overlapping but not much.

On a number of points the present volume compares more favorably with those of Professor Runciman. First as to bibliography. In both the original sources run about neck and neck. But the latter has a startling paucity of American works; even Virginia Berry's edition of Odo of Dueil is omitted. Professor Runciman might explain this by his not wanting to "compete with the massed type-writers of the United States" (I, xii). In any case, bibliographically Professor Baldwin's book can reassure the American student on the score of American scholarship, and in addition suggest to him a number of institutions in which research on the Crusades is a specialty. A second excellence consists in the maps and the twenty-eight pages of "Gazetteer and Notes on the Maps." Maps and gazetteer are the work of Harry W. Hazard. The irritation of having to thumb one's way from the gazetteer to the scattered maps does not dim the quality of both. The general reader is sure to wish that the Crusaders' routes had been traced, as they are in the Runciman volumes. However, these are but tiny birth-marks on a beautiful face. Too, there is a valiant effort to standardize the names of persons and places. The index and the gazetteer are most helpful in this—e.g., Arabic and Turkish equivalents for classical forms are spelled out and put in brackets after many proper names. The spelling is made to accord as nearly as possible with the original languages of the names. Some concession is made to usage, so that one may still say Mohammed (though only for the Prophet), and Moslem and Saladin. But Seljuk must be Selchükid. The method here used in transliterating names can look to general acceptance, for it is a method of common sense. Thus on the one hand the spelling of Selchükid for Seljuk or Seljukid disentangles the name from its common Arabicized form and makes it derive from the Turkish; and on the other hand the general reader is not annoyed by excessive use of diacritical marks (š for sh, etc.). The gazetteer and index list the spellings often used and direct the reader to the name's adopted spelling: e.g., "Almohads, see Muwahhids," "Khilāt—see Akhlat." Also, for example, under "Melitene" (the spelling adopted) the Arabic and other equivalents are given: "Melitene (classical), Malatiyah (Arabic), Melden (West Armenian), Malatya (Turkish)." But not everyone of these equivalents is listed (only Malatya), which may be doubtful economy.

The book is dedicated to two deceased and two living scholars: John L. La Monte and Dana C. Munro, Frederic Duncalf and August C. Krey. If Professor

Munro is its grandfather, Professor La Monte is its father. The editors in effect say this, and confirmation can be found in La Monte's "Some Problems in Crusading Historiography," *Speculum*, January (1940), pp. 57-75, a paper read in substance at the meeting of the Mediaeval Academy, December, 1938. Out of it came a committee to draft plans for the set of volumes of which the present one is the first. Volumes I-IV are projected along almost the same lines laid then, with the addition of Volume V. The editors and advisory board are fortunate to have the production underwritten by the University of Pennsylvania Press, whose printers have given suitable form to a distinguished book.

University of Oregon

QUIRINUS BREEN

ESSAYS IN MEDIEVAL LIFE AND THOUGHT: PRESENTED IN HONOR OF AUSTIN PATTERSON EVANS. Edited by *John H. Mundy, Richard W. Emery, and Benjamin N. Nelson*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. xviii, 258. \$4.00.)

THIS volume is a tribute to a distinguished and beloved teacher by former students on the occasion of his selection as president of the Mediaeval Academy of America. Like most such volumes it found many who would like to have contributed unable to meet the deadline and others who had to content themselves with fragmentary studies instead of complete essays.

The frontispiece is an exceptionally fine full-page photo portrait of Professor Evans, which his many friends as well as former students will prize. Equally notable is the pen picture by Henry W. Wiggins, a delightfully written article which not only summarizes the chief contributions of Evans as a scholar, teacher, and editor but captures a vivid impression of his personality as well.

The twelve articles which follow reflect the wide interests of the master. The editors have grouped them under three categories: "Religion and Heresy" embracing the contributions of William Harold May (posthumous), Albert S. Shannon, O.S.A., Dayton Phillips, and Charles Trinkaus; "Science and Thought," including those of Francis S. Benjamin, Jr., Marshall Clagett, George B. Fowler, Pearl Kibre, and Merriam Sherwood; and "Institutional and Local History" containing those of Richard W. Emery, Sister Mary (Mulholland), B.V.M., John Hine Mundy, and Kenneth M. Setton. Another classification might list them, as in the fields of church, social, economic, science, and legal and political history.

While most of the articles can be characterized as fragmentary studies of purely technical interest, there are several which have a wider appeal. Thus Shannon compares the secrecy of witnesses in the Inquisitorial procedure to that of contemporary "security" trials. Miss Kibre's article on academic oaths at the University of Paris will challenge modern discussion of the same problem.

The article on the "Archaeology of Medieval Athens" by Kenneth M. Setton

is a full-length essay, a somewhat abbreviated chapter of his forthcoming book on medieval Athens.

The editors of the volume, John H. Mundy, Richard W. Emery, and Benjamin N. Nelson, are to be congratulated upon their faithful adherence to the strict scholarly admonitions of their distinguished mentor. Every one of the articles makes a contribution to scholarship even though limited in scope. Five of them include hitherto unpublished manuscript material.

University of Texas

A. C. KREY

BYZANZ UND DIE EUROPÄISCHE STAATENWELT: AUSGEWÄHLTE VORTRÄGE UND AUFSÄTZE. By *Franz Dölger*. (Munich: Buch-Kunstverlag Ettal. 1953. Pp. 382. DM 16.80.)

THIS volume is a collection of important articles by the leading German historian of the Byzantine Empire. They were published between 1933 and 1943 in historical journals and especially in *Festschriften* dedicated to scholars living in Germany or abroad, from Catalonia to Greece. Specialists in Byzantine history will be familiar with many of these essays, but will welcome the fact that the author provided most of them with up-to-date bibliographies and footnotes. They may also find, as did this reviewer, that important items had escaped their notice, such as the remarkable synthesis on the agricultural organization of the Byzantine Empire ("Die Frage des Grundeigentums in Byzanz") or the magisterial essay on Franco-Byzantine relations in the ninth century ("Europas Gestaltung im Spiegel der fränkisch-byzantinischen Auseinandersetzung des 9. Jahrhunderts"). The subject of this last article will also be of special interest to historians of the Western Middle Ages, as might be some of the major recurring themes developed in Dölger's articles.

Among them is the basic political thought of the Byzantines and the Byzantine imperial idea which Dölger sketches succinctly in various essays (pp. 10 ff., 70 f., 140 f., 262 f., 291 ff.). The effects of Byzantine institutions and thought on western Europe and the Balkan peninsula are discussed in connection with imperial propaganda (pp. 29 ff.); with the concept of the family and hierarchy of kings which Dölger traces to its Oriental, Ptolemaic, and late Roman sources (in a most suggestive essay on "The Family of Kings in the Middle Ages"); with the position of the Bulgarian rulers; with Byzantine missionary activity among the Slavs; and, in a tantalizingly brief and important section, with the exchange of ideas and goods between East and West in the ninth century (pp. 354-69; here will be found a critical discussion of Pirenne's theses). An article on "Medieval Civilization on the Balkans—A Byzantine Inheritance" collects material on political theory and practice, law, society, church, literature, art, and language of the Balkan peoples. A particularly brilliant piece is the (now famous) essay on "The Idea of Rome in Byzantine Thought" in which Dölger discusses the terms

"Romans" and "Romania" and their political implications, the conflict of popes and patriarchs, the ideas of Constantinople as a "Second Rome" and later of "New Rome," Eastern claims of a *translatio imperii* by Constantine the Great from Rome to Constantinople and the Western reaction to these claims with the "Donation of Constantine."

This is indeed a distinguished volume. It may be hoped that other selections from Dölger's long and impressive list of publications (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XLIV [1951] 1*-50*) will be republished in the near future.

Brandeis University

PAUL J. ALEXANDER

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWISH KHAZARS. By *D. M. Dunlop*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1954. Pp. xv, 293. \$5.00.)

THE Khazars were a people that for centuries strangely disappeared from the pages of history after playing a vigorous and heroic role among medieval states for several hundred years, principally from the eighth to the tenth centuries. The geographical setting of Khazaria is a kaleidoscopic shifting scene amidst the regions of the Caucasus, the basins of the Black, Caspian, and Azov seas and the shores of the Volga and Don rivers. The search for the genetic origins of the Khazars leads to conflicting affinities with the Mongols, the Huns, the Turks, the Bulgars, and others less well known. The powers with which the Khazars alternately battled and allied themselves included Armenia, the Byzantine Empire, the Arabs, Persia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Russia. About the time Charles Martel was turning back the tide of Arab invasion on the field of Tours the Khazars were fighting off the Arabs at the mountain barrier of the Caucasus. European civilization itself, as Dunlop points out, would have been threatened, had the Khazars not frustrated the Arabs in their attempted conquest of Byzantium. This is the fascination of Khazarian history: a pagan people that later adopted Judaism in significant numbers turned the balance of history in favor of Christianity versus Islam and then was lost to view as it finally fell victim to the ascending Muscovite power and was absorbed in the expanses of the Russian Empire.

That the sovereign class of the Khazars embraced the Jewish religion at the very peak of their military prowess and championed its cause against Christians and Mohammedans alike, understandably struck a sympathetic chord in Hebrew literature. Judah ha-Levi, romantic philosopher and poet of the twelfth century, used the theme of the Khazar conversion to Judaism as a prologue to his famous philosophic work *Kitab Al Khazari*, best known by its Hebrew title, *Sefer ha-Kuzari*, "The Book of the Kuzari." But the historic allusion was regarded as an imaginative creation of the poet-philosopher. More than four centuries later, in 1577, when a Jewish traveler, Isaac Akrish, published what purported to be the authentic correspondence between the Spanish-Jewish courtier, Hasdai ibn Shap-

rut, minister at the court of Abdulrahman III, caliph of Cordova, and Joseph, the king of the Khazars, the documents were treated with skepticism although a careful scrutiny of earlier Hebrew literature would have yielded many scattered but authentic references to the Khazars. In recent times, examination of copious material in non-Hebrew sources, principally Arabic, has dispelled any possible doubt as to the general authenticity of the Khazar history outlined in these tenth-century letters.

The historian's task is no longer to prove or disprove the major facts but rather to sift and evaluate the varied and multilingual source material, and to reconcile the bewildering conflicts of their testimony. D. M. Dunlop's *History of the Jewish Khazars* is an exhaustive and exhausting study of all the problems connected with the Khazars, embracing etymology, history, ethnology, politics, government, war, diplomacy, religion. All the theories on these questions advocated by numerous writers, medieval and modern, are examined and the conflicts among them are described and minutely analyzed. Dunlop includes the latest clues in Chinese literature in addition to the previously known Greek, Armenian, Hungarian, Hebrew, and Arabic writings. The erudition and critical acumen of the author are indeed impressive, but it is a pity that the mass of detailed material generally obstructs the larger view.

Dropsie College

ABRAHAM A. NEUMAN

KAISER FRIEDRICHS II. HERRSCHAFTSZEICHEN. By *Percy Ernst Schramm*. [Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, 3. Folge, Nr. 36.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1955. Pp. 162, 48 plates. DM 22.)

It was the intention of the author originally to include the subject matter of this book as one of the several *Abschnitte* of his *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik* (reviewed in *AHR*, LX [July, 1955], 873 f.), of which it is organically a part. The superabundance of materials, however, necessitated its separate publication.

The first *Abschnitt* is a digest of the findings of Josef Deér's study of the Palermo crown, in his *Der Kaiserornat Friedrichs II.*, and included here as a means of giving them wider publicity. Deér has convincingly demonstrated that the helmeted or camelaucum-crown, found in the tomb of the empress Constance, and long regarded as a part of her *Ornat*, was actually the crown of Frederick II, despite its apparently feminine appurtenances. Deér offers the plausible conjecture that it was placed in the sarcophagus of the dead empress by Frederick himself as a parting gesture, symbolizing the indissoluble union of their destinies.

The second and third *Abschnitte* are of unusual interest by virtue of their wealth of plausible evidence identifying seven crowns as belonging to Frederick II or to his immediate family. Three of these, now in Poland—two in Cracow and one in Plotsk—all in fragmentary form, are the subjects of the third

Abschnitt. Of exceptional interest and importance, however, is *Abschnitt* II, the first part of which is a report of Dr. Olli Källström describing in detail, and tracing the history since its discovery, of a Stockholm reliquary, long erroneously known as the "Goslar reliquary." This treasure, now in the Stockholm Museum, was a part of the booty taken by the Swedes during the Thirty Years' War, not, as previously believed, from the Goslar Cathedral in 1632, but from Würzburg in 1631. Its singular structure, consisting of a chalice of extraordinary size and a richly bejeweled cover, obviously adapted from a helmeted crown, offers an unusual challenge to students of *Herrschaftszeichen*. In the second part of this *Abschnitt* Professor Schramm reconstructs the history of the reliquary prior to 1631, and contributes the ingenious conjecture, supported by much circumstantial evidence, identifying the reliquary as a composite of the chalice in which Frederick II in 1236 enshrined the skull of the saintly Elizabeth of Thuringia, a distant relative, and the crown which he placed upon her head, impelled, as he himself wrote a few days later, not so much by *affectio sanguinis* as by *sancta devotio*.

Much less conjectural are the fourth and fifth *Abschnitte*, dealing respectively with a lost *faldistorium*, or occasional throne, of Frederick II, and with the origin, the evolution, and the use of the imperial eagle, *victrix aquila*, of the German emperors. While the *faldistorium* disappeared, presumably about 1311, during its removal from Rome to Avignon, the author has been able to reconstruct, largely from early inventories, a plausible description of its ornamentation and much of its history prior to its disappearance. The fifth *Abschnitt*, again the work of Josef Deér, is of interest as a partial clarification of the question of Byzantine, Islamic, and antique Roman influences in shaping the symbolic eagle of the late Hohenstaufen era.

It is obvious that in a book of this kind abundant pictorial illustrations or *Abbildungen* are a *sine qua non*. It should be noted, however, that in this book they are characterized by unusual clarity and vividness of detail. Appropriately also, the concluding section is an enlightening treatment of the empire and papacy in the light of their *Herrschaftszeichen*. While one recognizes in its every page the results of painstaking research and skillful technique, this book must be regarded as an advance toward definitiveness rather than definitiveness itself. For, despite the perfection of its workmanship and the wealth of its erudition, it will inevitably suggest to the reader the pertinence of the poignant last words of a great European scholar: "There is so much we do not know!"

Bowdoin College

THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE

ANGEVIN KINGSHIP. By J. E. A. Jolliffe, Research Fellow of Keble College, Oxford. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1955. Pp. vii, 358. \$7.00.)

MR. J. E. A. Jolliffe has a rare capacity for clear analysis and a thorough command of the sources for the history of the Angevin monarchy. His central thesis

in this book is that the Norman and Angevin kings of England developed a strong royal government by ignoring the limitations which feudal ideas placed on the power of the suzerain. They took important political actions without seeking the counsel of their vassals, they disseised their vassals without a judgment from their court, and they paid little or no attention to hereditary claims to offices in the royal government. In short they acted on no other authority than their own wills and ruled through their familiars who were assigned whatever functions they seemed best fitted for. As a generalization this thesis is not new, but Mr. Jolliffe develops, illuminates, and illustrates it with concrete and relevant detail. He turns what was formerly an impression into an established fact.

Although Mr. Jolliffe has clearly succeeded in establishing a pattern of royal behavior, he seems to this reviewer to have neglected the other side—baronial resistance to royal authority. He has a short chapter entitled “reaction,” but it deals primarily with the great revolt against John. He pays little heed to the earlier baronial risings and none to shifts in royal policy which were probably the result of baronial protest such as the abandonment by Henry II of any serious effort to collect scutage from the knights enfeoffed after the death of Henry I. Then one aspect of Mr. Jolliffe’s interpretation of his story bothers me. I am inclined to doubt that feudal ideas were so definite and precise that one can say such and such an action violated them. Feudal law was essentially custom and what has been done effectively soon becomes customary. We do not know enough about the development of feudal ideas to be certain that at a particular time a particular act was contrary to them.

In short, while Mr. Jolliffe has performed a distinct service in establishing definitely a pattern of royal behavior, his interpretation of that behavior seems open to some doubt. His book should be read carefully by every student of the Angevin period and it contains ideas which will interest all those who deal with the development of feudalism. Unfortunately the very mastery of detail which makes this book so valuable for the specialist is likely to discourage a general reader. To appreciate Mr. Jolliffe’s work one must be almost as familiar with his material as he is.

Johns Hopkins University

SIDNEY PAINTER

THE LATER PLANTAGENETS: A SURVEY OF ENGLISH HISTORY BETWEEN 1307 AND 1485. By *V. H. H. Green*, Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. (London: Edward Arnold; New York: St. Martin’s Press. 1955. Pp. 438. \$4.00.)

Mr. Green deserves the gratitude of all teachers and students of English history for this excellent textbook. Much more than A. R. Myers in his recent “Pelican” volume, he opens up to the general reader the late Middle Ages as recent scholars have created it. The book should be read and judged as a self-effacing work of introduction.

Like the author's earlier successes in the textbook field, this work makes no claim to originality, but by its skillful weaving together of scholarly monographs and articles, it makes its own genuine contribution to our knowledge of the period. Mr. Green's task was no light one, and it is notable that it should have been carried out by a historian whose work, since his early biography of Pecoek, has been in other fields. The burden of his task is accentuated by two contrasting difficulties. On the one hand, the great historical disputes which used to center in the first two centuries of post-Conquest England, have now moved to the period in which Mr. Green is writing. On the other hand, there are still big gaps in the monograph literature of the period.

Most manuals before Myers and Green reflected the stigma placed by Stubbs on the late Middle Ages as a time of barren faction. Whatever scholars may have written in the past twenty-five years, this age has, for the layman and general student, been the least studied, and the least sympathetically studied, period of English history. For Mr. Green, following the influential views of M. V. Clarke, G. Lapsley, and B. Wilkinson, the fourteenth century is redeemed by the growth of new institutions and by the constructive vigor of its politicians. Mr. Green's treatment of the fifteenth century, on the other hand, like the scholarship on the period, declines into a catalogue of family affiliations and intrigues. That there is some truth in such an approach, this reviewer would not deny; but it is safe to predict that a fair verdict on that century remains a long way off.

In view of these characteristics, it may be well to give a somewhat more detailed account of what Mr. Green has done. He has supplied an outline of political history with a strong constitutional bent (until the faction-directed fifteenth century), together with useful chapters on social and economic development, government, religion, and relations with the rest of Britain and with France. Such occasional observations as he contributes on intellectual or cultural history are too brief to be really helpful. Some account of his successes and failures may be worth attempting, though no verdict at this stage can be more than a personal view. For him, the nobility are less financially pinched and more constructive politically than most recent generalizations have allowed. Here he follows B. Wilkinson cautiously and K. B. McFarlane (if we can trust his summation of the Ford Lectures of 1953) unhesitatingly. Wyclif is, in the main, what McFarlane made him, a good deal less than his real stature, and, incidentally, unrelated to "Religion and Life"! Parliament and Council are rapidly developing institutions, and the household is no bogey; but here Mr. Green's courage fails him, so he reverses himself on the household on the very same page (p. 81) and adds a conclusion that parliament's development was "haphazard and inchoate." Fifteenth-century institutions fare less well, for here the scholarship has been threadbare, except for the reappraisal of the Council by T. F. T. Plucknett, which is duly incorporated by Mr. Green. The biographical sketches are good, avoiding the extremes of some modern interpretations.

These observations must not disguise the fact that Mr. Green has used a

wide variety of often discordant scholarship with remarkable skill or that his book is eminently readable. His achievement adds further point to the need for special courses in British history, where the sources, the scholarly study and debate in English, and their relevance to the institutions of today are so outstanding. While we shall now await the volumes of the Oxford History and the new Longmans History with renewed interest, Mr. Green's book will henceforth remain indispensable to students of English history.

University of Toronto

M. R. POWICKE

PLEAS BEFORE THE KING OR HIS JUSTICES, 1198-1202. Volume I, INTRODUCTION WITH APPENDIXES CONTAINING ESSOINS 1199-1201, A 'KING'S ROLL' OF 1200, AND WRITS OF 1190-1200. Edited for the Selden Society by *Doris Mary Stenton*, Senior Lecturer in the University of Reading. [Publications of the Selden Society, Volume LXVII, for the Year 1948.] (London: Bernard Quaritch. 1953. Pp. xi, 517. £3 13s.6d.)

READINGS AND MOOTS AT THE INNS OF COURT IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, Volume I. Edited with an Introduction by *Samuel E. Thorne*, Professor of Legal History and Librarian in the Law School of Yale University. [Publications of the Selden Society, Volume LXXI for the Year 1952.] (London: Bernard Quaritch. 1954. Pp. cxlvi, 273. £3 13s.6d.)

THESE volumes are examples of precision scholarship, and the imprimatur of Plucknett, the Selden Society's most erudite literary director since Maitland, warrants their quality. Each fulfills the society's purpose, to "advance the knowledge of the history of English law," by printing new documents with explicatory and textual annotation and a commentary. Lady Stenton presents a collection of writs, essoins, and cases to supplement the already printed Curia Regis Rolls. Her commentary briefs the cases and expounds the historical significance of this new evidence. Most exciting are the seventy-six original and judicial writs just discovered in the Public Record Office, for they, combined with the essoins (excuses for nonappearance in court) enable her to trace out the course of many a suit. The royal courts despite, or perhaps because of, Richard I's absentee reign, grew in efficiency, and even during the interregnum between his death, April 6, 1199, and John's coronation, May 27, they carried on their routine. Once crowned, John joined his judges in hearing cases, and often they adjourned pleas until his return from France. The king personally made decisions, issued "commands," and gave orders, by word of mouth or by writ, from Normandy to his justices in England. Rules of procedure had changed from those prescribed in Glanville's *De legibus*, perhaps written, Lady Stenton proposes, by Geoffrey fitz Peter, later John's justiciar. To learn good law in 1200, a man had to study not only this treatise but the cases ruled in the courts.

Legal education, by 1400, had become organized, and Thorne's volume of sixteen readings (lectures) at the Inns of Court, 1420-1489, discloses what law was taught and how men taught it. The readers used the historical approach, one still followed in teaching English law, for in Henry VII's reign much of Edward I's law remained in force. Each reading was on an "old" statute, usually Merton, 1236, Gloucester, 1278, or Westminster II, 1285. The readers' formula was to explain what the law had been before the statute, what "mischief" it remedied, the act's original meaning, and the constructions later judges put upon it. His own interpretation, supported by cases cited from the Year Books of Edward III and later, often provoked good argument. Disputants, whose names the reporters recorded, interrupted the reader, and the debates between them enrich these readings and show how unsettled much of the law still was.

Thorne not only has edited and translated the law-French texts of the readings but he has provided biographies of the readers and the disputants and also tables of the readings with their dates, some determinable only through arduous analysis. Now factual evidence, instead of conjecture, is available for a history of "late medieval legal education," and this he promises in a second volume of moot cases. To contemplate the labor and ingenuity required to produce these two books—one covering seventy years of the Inns of Court, the other about a decade of the Angevin judiciary—makes one wonder whether the results are worth the effort. Compared to the vast cosmographies currently in vogue, this may seem small history. But it has one great advantage—it's true.

Yale University

WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR.

L'ITALIE DE LA RENAISSANCE (DUECENTO-TRECENTO-QUATTRO-CENTO): EVOLUTION D'UNE SOCIÉTÉ. By *Edmond-René Labande*, Professeur à l'Université de Poitiers. [Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris: Payot. 1954. Pp. 409. 1,500 fr.)

A SYNTHESIS of the "données essentielles" of the political, social, economic, and cultural history of Italy from the flowering of the communes to the foreign invasions at the end of the fifteenth century is, as Professor Labande rightly states, a long-time desideratum. It can hardly be said, however, that this book gives a fully balanced and integrated account of these various fields. In the long chapters on diplomatic events the author often seems to be writing an old-fashioned textbook rich in isolated data, while in the chapters on literature and art one notices an almost complete absence of all the problems of Renaissance "Weltanschauung." In the extensive and useful bibliographies the major works of Cassirer, Olschki, Gentile, Saitta, Garin are missing. It is in the chapters on the institutional, social, and economic life that we become aware of historical development and of the changes from one phase of the Renaissance to another. The real object of the

book is not rounded cultural history, but, as the subtitle suggests, "l'évolution d'une société."

The author draws a black—indeed, a deep black—picture of this development. As early as about 1200 the leading offices of the communes, especially that of the *podestà*, are said to have become steppingstones for tyranny (pp. 25, 41). A few generations later, the slogans of "Guelph" and "Ghibelline" had become void of meaning; political ideals and public-mindedness had waned (pp. 47 f.). From 1350 to 1500—"L'âge des condottières et des princes"—only ruthlessness and cynicism determined the atmosphere. Even Florence, last of the republics (Venice's oligarchy was not a free state), saw the final triumph of tyranny in 1434 (pp. 245 ff.), and only from tyranny were literature and art to receive indispensable patronage (pp. 313 f.). Renaissance tyranny, however, failed in another task; it did not produce a nation-state, nor peace and protection from foreign powers. Even Lorenzo de' Medici, who wished to be regarded as the father of a political equilibrium above local interests, strove recklessly for his own aggrandizement (p. 295). Fragmentation also ruined Italy's economic and social vigor. In addition to growing difficulties for Italian trade abroad there was devastation through inter-Italian wars; a steady rise of public debt; an increasing tax burden laid on the merchant class; consequent exploitation of the peasantry, and a decrease in marriages and births. "C'est dans le sang et la violence que l'élan, disons mieux l'effort constant de renouvellement, à base spirituelle, de l'Italie est venu à maturité; au travers des larmes, de la faim, des désillusions alternant avec des éclairs d'espoir fut conquise une Renaissance qui, bien souvent, ne fut qu'une évasion" (pp. 301 ff.).

One wonders whether this admirably clear and concise picture is really in accord with the facts. As for the asserted waning of liberty and the public spirit, the view that the position of *podestà* served as an early springboard for tyranny has long been refuted by the discovery that this office was instituted to prevent the rise of illegal power within the citizenry, and in most cases served that purpose well for generations. Similarly, the view that the Guelph ideology became a sham at an early date is no longer tenable since it has been shown that Guelphism, after the middle of the fourteenth century, provided the matrix for Florence's republican ideals in the time of Humanism; and many known facts contradict the assertion that Florentine culture lacked patronage under the Republic. Of course, the true outlines are difficult to comprehend if Cosimo's return to Florence in 1434 is termed "l'établissement d'une tyrannie définitive" (pp. 245, 247), without any reference to the differences of Cosimo's position from normal *signory*, or to the repeated revivals of republican freedom between 1434 and 1530. With regard to the equilibrium system, we may, of course, doubt its success, but no objective judgment can be passed if, in narrating Cosimo's support of Francesco Sforza's conquest of Milan (pp. 254 f.), we speak only of the personal ambitions of the two men, not mentioning that Cosimo's chief motive was preser-

vation of the balance of power. Again, we cannot judge Lorenzo objectively if we pass over in silence the fact that in the time of decision after the Pazzi conspiracy Lorenzo rejected French overtures with the words "I cannot place my 'particolare vantaggio' above the peril for all Italy." Nor does the assertion of an all-engulfing economic decay take into account the entire available evidence. Such authorities as Barbagallo, v. Beloch, Pieri, and Carlo M. Cipolla have from the sources inferred that marriages and births did not decline everywhere; that public debts at least in Venice and Milan decreased by the 1490's; and that throughout the peninsula the cultivation, amelioration, and irrigation of the soil made immense forward strides during the Quattrocento. Even to the end of the sixteenth century the area between Genoa, Milan, and Florence remained the industrial heart of the whole Mediterranean world, so that F. Braudel could recently write that any economic losses were "relatives, et ne parlons pas de décline" before 1600.

Not until these and other related facts (discussed in *BHR*, XVII, 1955, by this reviewer) are recognized will the reader of Professor Labande's well-written book be able to form a fair idea of the "données essentielles" of our present knowledge.

Newberry Library

HANS BARON

Modern European History

THE KING'S PEACE, 1637-1641. By *C. V. Wedgwood*. [The Great Rebellion.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1955. Pp. 510. \$5.50.)

WITH this book Miss Wedgwood begins a series of volumes devoted to the Great Rebellion, evidently planning to close with the Stuart Restoration in 1660. We are not told how many volumes are intended, although, at the moment, this is irrelevant. *The King's Peace* can stand alone if an unkind Fate should so decree. It is equal, if not the superior to, Miss Wedgwood's previous works—*The Thirty Years' War*, *Richelieu and the French Monarchy*, *Strafford*, *Montrose*, and others—and it demonstrates a superb mastery of historical data, of historical thinking, and of English prose.

The volume is divided into three books of unequal and increasing length. Book I, entitled after an autobiographical remark of Charles I in June, 1637, "The Happiest King in Christendom," is a concise and remarkably rich description of the peoples of the British Isles in the early seventeenth century, their occupations, religions, social organization, and governments, "deliberately avoiding analysis," as Miss Wedgwood avers, "and seeking rather to give an impression of . . . [the] vigorous and vivid confusion" (p. 16). Book II, "The Challenge from Scotland," treats the blundering attempts to bring the Scots to Anglican heel and the First Scots War. Book III, "An Army in Ireland," carries the narrative to November 23, 1641. England was reeling from the first wild, exaggerated reports of the Irish Rebellion; Pym was preparing the Grand Remonstrance

further to undermine public confidence in the king; and Charles himself was on the point of returning to London from his disastrous attempts to reassert his sovereignty over the kirk and state of Scotland. In little more than four years "the tranquillity of the kingdoms and the happiness and power of their King had proved to be illusions" (p. 484). It is these years which Miss Wedgwood describes.

It is evident that Miss Wedgwood has dug deeply in the original sources, and two new manuscript collections, the Strafford Papers in the Sheffield Central Library and the Breadalbane MSS in the General Register House, Edinburgh, have been searched. Minimal footnote references are listed at the end of each chapter, and in a "Biographical Note" (pp. 489-92) Miss Wedgwood warmly acknowledges indebtedness to many other scholars from whose works she has profited. Unfortunately, however, the method used seldom enables the reader to discern with clarity at what points in her narrative Miss Wedgwood grasps other scholars by the hand, clings only by a finger, or relinquishes them altogether.

There can be no question, however, that this is an authoritative, fresh synthesis of the immediate backgrounds of the First Civil War. Miss Wedgwood does not seek to examine underlying causes, but rather, as she states, "to give full importance and value to the admitted motives and illusions of the men of the seventeenth century. I have sought to restore their immediacy of experience" (p. 16). These objectives are, in this reviewer's opinion, achieved with great distinction. Scholar and general reader alike will eagerly await Miss Wedgwood's subsequent volumes about the Great Rebellion. Let us hope, however, that the printer will have discarded the imperfect type with which this volume is marred.

University of Illinois

RAYMOND P. STEARNS

THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II, 1658-1660. By *Godfrey Davies*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1955. Pp. viii, 383. \$7.00.)

THIS volume completes a series which began to appear in 1863. Samuel Rawlinson Gardiner's *History of England from the Accession of James I* (10 vols., London, 1883-84) was followed by a *History of the Great Civil War* (3 vols., London, 1886-91; 4 vols., 1893) and by its continuation in his *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* (last ed., 4 vols., London, 1903). Sir Charles Firth described *The Last Years of the Protectorate* in two further volumes which were published in London in 1909. His student and colleague promised to finish the job and, some ninety-two years after the *History* began to be read, has most amply and worthily fulfilled his pledge and the aim of Gardiner's great scheme.

Future students of the two years leading to the Restoration will find Mr. Davies' work invaluable, in spite of the absence of a bibliography. He has concentrated chiefly upon the kaleidoscopic scenes of domestic history. His use of a traditional chronological order, aside from three chapters on foreign affairs, Scot-

land, and Ireland, greatly clarifies the most complicated period in England's story. He moves with the assurance which a complete command of his material gives him through the brief protectorate of Richard, the many revolutions which followed his fall, the changing balance of power and political alignments which led up to the astonishing and peaceful accession of Charles in the spring of 1660. Events here and the day-to-day output of the press reporting them, or seeking to influence their future course, are most competently described and analyzed. Mr. Davies has studied, as no one before him, the tracts and newsbooks of the day. He has reread the often familiar printed sources. He has not hesitated to make his own judgment on cause and effect clear to his readers. What actually happened is here revealed and interpreted in a masterly fashion.

In a brief notice, Mr. Davies' conclusions must be arbitrarily summarized. His most important contribution is, I think, his close correlation of the march of events and of the changing climate of opinion. He attributes the Restoration to a failure of the Puritan and of the reforming spirit, to the constant interference of the army in politics, to the persistent demand to be represented in a free parliament, to the divisions among the innovators, to their failure to distinguish between "social evils and harmless amusements." He notices the attitude of the mob and of those classes and groups whose interests had been injured by the rule of saints and soldiers. His detailed account of the forces influencing Monk's decision to march into London and to restore the Long Parliament as well as his concluding survey of the general situation in midwinter not only affords the first really authoritative analysis of the general's character and actions but also throws a flood of light on the causes of the Restoration itself. He shows how very slight indeed was the role played by royalist sentiment in England, or by Stuart machinations abroad.

Mr. Davies is interesting in his accounts of the Cromwell family and their varying importance in English history. He is as always most informative about army politics and army economics. He is extraordinarily just in his appraisal of character and achievement. Perhaps his most noteworthy contribution to the scholarship of this period lies in his remarks on the Puritans. He is not concerned with any detailed account of their theories of government and of religion. He is interested in the change that was taking place in their position in English life and thought. Cromwell, he believes, enabled a deeper Puritanism to survive both the slackening and splintering of their own activities and the popular reaction of the early years of Charles II. Englishmen rejected religious and political reform for the time being. "Pish, let religion alone; give me my small liberty" was a general attitude by 1659. In that small liberty was included parliament, whatever its faults. But Mr. Davies asserts in a moving conclusion that Puritanism survived "not in the seats of power, but in the hearts of men." In *Paradise Lost* and in *Pilgrim's Progress*, may be found its permanent legacy.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

ENGLISH RADICALISM, 1762-1785: THE ORIGINS. By S. Maccoby. (London: George Allen and Unwin; New York: Macmillan Company. 1955. Pp. 535. \$10.25.)

DR. Maccoby's comprehensive studies of modern English radicalism are obviously labors of love. His definition of radicalism, or oppositionism, is broad and ranges from political dissenters to propagators of unfamiliar if benevolent new ideas on behalf of the unfortunate. In between falls every conceivable kind of radicalism, individual and organized. To follow the many strands is something of an ordeal, and the subject is almost too complex to be mastered and then meaningfully interpreted for the reader.

This volume follows three others covering the period from 1832 to 1914. The first one (1832-1852) was published in 1935 and reviewed in the *American Historical Review* in January, 1938; the second one (1853-1886) appeared in 1938 and was reviewed in January, 1940; and the third one (1886-1914) appeared in 1953 and was reviewed in July, 1954. A final volume will fill in the years from 1785 to 1832, from Paine to Cobbett.

This study of the origins of radicalism is of particular interest because it covers the period before organized opposition became a part of the parliamentary process. John Wilkes and his kind are leading figures, not George III and Lords Bute and North. Students of United States history will be curious about the activities of the British "left" during these years from the close of the French and Indian War to American independence.

Pamphlet and periodical material, including cartoons and handbills, are used extensively. For example, the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Annual Register* are more important sources than state papers and special collections. Periodical reports of economic and other conditions relate events to their times and permit a fuller understanding of the period. Following his usual pattern of organization, the author narrates the course of radicalism during the first half of George III's reign and adds some special chapters: "Workmen and Their Employers"; "The Challenge to the Church"; "Opinion on Rent and Landlords"; and "Philanthropy in regard to the 'Oppressed.'" A select bibliography, broken down into categories, and an index complete the work.

Although none of these volumes is easy to read, they are thorough and exhaustive with generous extracts from contemporary materials. In some cases, scholars will want to go more extensively into particular forms of radicalism. The brief chapter on the early humanitarians makes a reader want to know more. Dr. Maccoby has performed a valuable service by surveying the larger subject and pointing the way for others.

University of California, Los Angeles

FRANK J. KLINGBERG

IL COMASCO SOTTO IL DOMINIO SPAGNOLO: SAGGIO DI STORIA ECONOMICA E SOCIALE. By Bruno Caizzi. [Raccolta di saggi e ricerche,

diretta da Gianfranco Miglio, I.] (Como: Centro lariano per gli studi economici. 1955. Pp. 227. L. 2000.)

STARTING from a study of taxes in Spanish Lombardy and probing thoroughly their amount and incidence in the province around Como, Bruno Caizzi advances to a solid, restrained, and highly enlightening analysis of the social and economic structure of the Comasco. Complaints of high taxes and quarrels over their assessment are a wearisome maze, but Dr. Caizzi's reader will find in the second chapter that he is emerging from this labyrinth able to comprehend the changes in the class structure of Como. Caizzi revises a number of widely accepted figures and generalizations: he prefers lower figures for the population and industrial production of Como about 1600; he finds no signs of industrial decline until around that date; and he concludes that taxation under the Spanish did not become a crushing burden until after the first decades of the seventeenth century when the woollen industry had already declined. But during the period from approximately 1620 to 1660, the Comasco suffered from the quartering of troops and military taxes imposed through a fiscal system that the Spanish government had completely failed to rationalize.

This burden was so heavy that the operation of the fiscal system then became the dominant factor in the economy. During the sixteenth century the city bourgeoisie had increased their ownership of land, collected rents in kind, and paid the land taxes without too much difficulty, for grain prices had risen faster than assessments. But when prices leveled off or declined in the second and third decades of the seventeenth century, while taxes sharply increased, the bourgeoisie who kept their wealth did so by money-lending—mainly by lending to local governments to enable them to meet the demands on them for military expenditures, but lending also to landowners to enable them to pay the higher taxes. Tax-evasion, money-lending, and officeholding combined to provide new sources of well-being for some of the urban aristocracy. The sufferers who arouse Caizzi's sympathy are not those industrial capitalists or well-to-do landlords who were too slow-footed to shift their wealth into forms that escaped the tax-collector. His sympathy, expressed with restraint, goes to the laborers, mainly agricultural workers whose misery is evidenced by their emigration in large numbers, especially from the villages on Lake Como. A comparison of birth rates, death rates, and the scattered figures on total population leaves no doubt that the natives of that famed beauty spot, the shores of Lake Como, had to go elsewhere to make a living, the money brought back by returning emigrants was a substantial element in the support of the poorer inhabitants.

The description of the system of land tenure is very valuable. The conclusion that the grain rent was usually six bushels an acre would be more meaningful if Caizzi had made an estimate, no matter how approximate, of the yield per acre in the area south of the lake which was owned mainly by the bourgeoisie and the monasteries of Como. Figures on page 151 for the rent on plowed land at the

northern end of the lake, where peasants frequently owned their extremely small farms, indicate a yield of twelve bushels an acre, but I could find no figures for "the plain." Whatever the figures, it is at least clear that the peasants were perpetually in debt to the landlords.

There may be some doubt whether Dr. Caizzi has not painted too gloomy a picture just because his main sources are tax records, inquests, and complaints. Yet he is well aware of this bias in his sources and he has used other materials—a few series of family account books for the history of bourgeois fortunes, monastic records for the story of prices and land tenure, parish registers for demography, and a variety of secondary works. His study is magnificently printed, with maps, tables, and—praises be—an index. It is doubly welcome, for itself and as the first of a series of interesting volumes promised by the Centro lariano per gli studi economici, which has been created by the local Camera di commercio, industria, ed agricoltura. Bruno Caizzi has shown brilliantly how local history can be so written as to provide the materials needed if general treatments are to have a solid foundation.

Johns Hopkins University

FREDERIC C. LANE

LA RESTAURATION. By *G. de Bertier de Sauvigny*, Professeur à l'Institut catholique de Paris. [Collection "L'Histoire."] (Paris: Flammarion. 1955. Pp. 652. 1150 fr.)

FATHER de Bertier de Sauvigny, a former student of Weill and Pouthas and at present a professor in the Institut Catholique of Paris, has now established himself as one of the leading scholars in the field of modern French history. In 1948 he published *Le Comte de Bertier et l'enigme de la Congrégation*, based in part on family papers and recognized as the most valuable contribution made to the political history of the Bourbon Restoration in the last quarter century. Father de Bertier has now followed this distinguished monograph with what is certain to take its place as the best general work on the whole Restoration period. The political history of the two reigns of Louis XVIII (1814-24) and Charles X (1824-30) is divided by a section, comprising over a third of the book, devoted to analyses of the economic, social, political, religious, and intellectual life of France between the downfall of Napoleon and the coming to power of Louis Philippe. Not only has the author worked extensively in various French archives but also in those of the foreign offices of England, Austria, Sweden, the Holy See, and the United States. At the same time, the printed sources and secondary studies on all aspects of the period have been fully used, and, in the matter of synthesis, he has considered those of Charléty, de la Gorce, Pouthas, and the present reviewer, and moved beyond them.

The author knows how to seize on the telling detail to give his account a vivid first-handedness. Always he writes with a luminous clarity, and the whole

plan displays the most skillful balance and proportion. He shows that the Restoration in economic and social life belongs still to the *ancien régime*, while in the political, religious, and intellectual fields it resembles the conditions prevailing through most of the later nineteenth century. He believes the political failure of the Restoration was due to the rancors left over from the Revolutionary era which made both the extreme Right and the extreme Left unwilling to compromise. Politically, however, it was France's first experience with free institutions under peaceable conditions. On the intellectual side, he sets forth the great richness of the age in science, literature, political and social thought, painting, and music.

The whole work shows both an unusual detachment and lack of bias and a penetrating historical insight into the causes of things. Especially valuable are the interrelations he notes between economic, social, and intellectual changes and the movements in politics. Throughout, the reader is reminded of the work of Halévy on English history in the same period, though de Bertier is briefer, more clearly focused, and more incisive. All in all, the work is a model of historical synthesis, a field in which French scholars have long been in the lead. On no later period of French history is there so penetrating a synthesis.

When a new edition appears, it should be supplied with a preface, a fuller bibliography, especially of important learned articles, and, above all, with an index.

Oberlin College

FREDERICK B. ARTZ

PRÉVOST-PARADOL (1829-1870): PENSÉE ET ACTION D'UN LIBERAL SOUS LE SECOND EMPIRE. By *Pierre Guiral*. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1955. Pp. 842. 1800 fr.)

In the foreword to this study the author anticipates the criticisms that may come his way. "The genre of historical biography," M. Guiral writes, "is often decried in our day. . . . It may seem arbitrary to isolate from the crowd of men who have made history a selected personality and to analyze an age through his reactions. Arbitrary and dangerous, for the historian may end by adopting the sentiments of his hero." M. Guiral has avoided this last danger. Based on painstaking research in primary sources, buttressed by formidable documentation, his study is always detached, and his judgments are always sober. His scholarship, however, has been expended on an unworthy subject. Biography may indeed illuminate a historical epoch; but the life of Prévost-Paradol sheds little new light either on the Second Empire or on the liberal opposition to Napoleon III. A member of the famous Halévy family, Paradol studied history and literature, then early abandoned an academic career to become the leading political writer of the *Journal des Débats*. His journalistic success was considerable. At the age of thirty-six he won election to the Académie française and later contributed essays on French politics to the London *Times*. He steadily criticized the govern-

ment of Napoleon III until the beginning of the year 1870, when he rallied to the "Liberal Empire." He was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the United States, and he committed suicide within a week of his arrival in Washington in July, 1870.

Although Paradol's death was dramatic, the years of his success were lacking not only in drama but also in real historical significance. His *pensée* was liberal, but largely in the narrow Orleanist definition of the term. For example, he defended civil liberties and admired British political institutions; but he distrusted democracy as an instrument of Bonapartism, took scant interest in questions of social welfare, and championed uncritically French expansion in Algeria. His *action* in the political sphere was almost nonexistent. Twice he ran for election to the Corps législatif, and twice he was overwhelmingly defeated because he was disliked by both imperialists and republicans. In sum, to use a pejorative term, Prévost-Paradol was "a bright young man," talented yet glib and unoriginal, a success in the narrow world of Parisian journalism yet a failure in the wider one of politics. All this M. Guiral makes very clear indeed but at such length as to try the patience of even the most avid student of French political life.

University of Rochester

JOHN B. CHRISTOPHER

DAS NATIONALE ALS EUROPÄISCHES PROBLEM: BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DES NATIONALITÄTSPRINZIPS VORNEHMLICH IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Reinhard Wittram*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1954. Pp. 245. DM 12.80.)

L'IDÉE DE LA NATIONALITÉ ET DE LA LIBRE DISPOSITION DES PEUPLES DANS SES RAPPORTS AVEC L'IDÉE DE L'ÉTAT (ÉTUDE DES DOCTRINES POLITIQUES CONTEMPORAINES), 1870-1950. By *Pierre Vergnaud*. Preface by *J.-J. Chevallier*. [Études d'histoire économique, politique et sociale, X.] (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz. 1955. Pp. 258. Fr. s. 18.)

THESE two studies of problems of nationalism and nationality offer a striking contrast in approach. Although a book of essays, Professor Wittram's work makes the more substantial contribution to its field. It is unified in outlook, based on thorough scholarship and familiarity with concrete problems involving nationality, and rich in empirical data. Wittram shows considerable powers of generalization—as in his thoughtful essay on "The German Empire as a Matter of the Past" (pp. 95-108)—but he remains essentially a critical historian who insists on the concrete and the unique as indispensable safeguards against men's constant temptation to change memories to myths.

Wittram's first five essays deal with general problems in the interpretation of nationalism and its historiography, but refer almost continuously to specific evidence. His essay on Hans Kohn's *The Idea of Nationalism* is fair and factual;

recognizing Kohn's work as "the greatest and most important station thus far on the way toward the understanding of nationalism" (p. 37), Wittram offers a dissent on the interpretation of Luther and of Prussian history that contributes further to the analysis of the subject (pp. 41-45, 48-49).

The rest of Wittram's book contains a very illuminating essay on "Church and Nationalism in the History of German Protestantism in the Nineteenth Century," notable for its extensive use of first-hand evidence from nineteenth-century sermons; and three studies on East European topics: "Corporative Organization and Nationality: On the Structural Change in the Territorial Organizations of the Baltic Nobility" (with many perceptive sociological comments, e.g., pp. 156-60); "Carl Schirren's 'Livonian Reply' (1869)" (a careful discussion of certain nationalistic ideas in their historical and social setting); and "Russian Nationalistic Tendencies in the Eighties," based on the unpublished reports and letters of Austro-Hungarian diplomats in St. Petersburg.

Professor Wittram's book should appeal to a wide circle of historians, not only for his craftsmanship and rich documentation (pp. 214-44) but also for his mature and responsible attitude toward the problem of re-evaluating German history and with it the future German image of the role of the German people among its neighbors.

M. Vergnaud's treatise is sweeping and abstract: it aims at a single theory about theories of nationality. Its theme is the succession of "nominalistic" theories of the nation in the age of liberalism by "realistic" theories of the present age, with the latter imputing a distinct reality to the nation and to other collective entities. This is illustrated by a quick survey of ideas from Machiavelli to the nineteenth century, followed by chapters on several French thinkers; Hitler; Lenin and Stalin; and a brief concluding statement of the author's own personalistic and religious views.

Vergnaud's chapters on Renan, Barrès, Maurras, and Jaurès are the best in the book, and most likely to be useful to historians for the many pertinent citations from the writings of these men. The emphasis, however, is on textual collation rather than on historical or social background. The treatment of Barrès and Maurras is apologetic, including the racism of the one and the anti-Semitism of the other (pp. 87, 103, 105-106). They are pictured as patriotic and civilized nationalists who were not at all totalitarian; the problem of collaboration of adherents of the *Action française* with the Nazi occupiers of France is passed by. The "realism" of Barrès is contrasted favorably with the "nominalism" of Renan (p. 94). Throughout, moderate statements by Barrès and Maurras are quoted, while more damaging ones are not; and Hans Kohn's demonstration of the close kinship of many of their ideas to those of Fascism and National Socialism—in his *Force or Reason* (1938)—is ignored. Another notable omission is the utter lack of attention to the significance of nationalistic ideas for the populations of such French-ruled territories as Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco.

Altogether, students of nationalism should find Vergnaud's book useful, and Wittram's work penetrating and valuable. Both books are important aids to those who wish to keep abreast of this field.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

KARL W. DEUTSCH

HERDER: HIS LIFE AND THOUGHT. By *Robert T. Clark, Jr.* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1955. Pp. 501. \$6.50.)

Few men whose influence has been as widespread as Herder's have been so neglected and misunderstood. Although much has been written in German, a real appreciation of the man and his thought still remains something to be desired. In Italian and French there are no definite biographies of Herder. Few of his writings have been translated into English and until recently the only full biography in English was that of H. Nevins (1884), which has long been hopelessly out of date. The publication of a new and detailed biography of Herder in English is, therefore, a notable event. The most interesting chapter for the historian is the one titled "Man and the Cosmos," in which Herder's philosophy of history is discussed as he developed in it his *magnum opus*, *Ideas toward a Philosophy of the History of Man*.

Professor Clark's biography, the product of almost twenty years of study and research, is factual rather than interpretative, but it does present a number of reinterpretations. The specific target of his criticisms is Rudolf Haym, whose Herder (2 vols., 1880-84) has been the authoritative account of Herder's life. Haym, deeply influenced by the philosophy of Kant, saw little value or meaning in the more important contributions made by Herder. He regarded the influence on Goethe and the Romanticists as Herder's chief claim to fame. Professor Clark is, of course, not the first to show that Haym's thesis is inadequate. During the past decades a number of scholars have traced Herder's influence in fields disregarded by Haym. Professor Clark has utilized these studies and also added new interpretations of his own.

Among the questions he reopens there are some which were regarded as definitely answered by earlier scholarship. They include Herder's relationship to the mystic Johann Georg Hamann, to Rousseau, and to the Enlightenment. The biographer concludes that Rousseau's influence on Herder was much more decisive than that of Hamann. "I find," he writes, "that he [Herder] remained impervious to Hamann's mysticism, which he frequently did not understand and never attempted to propagate." He further states that Herder was closer to the Enlightenment, that his thought contains far more rationalistic elements, than scholars had previously pointed out. Above all, Professor Clark effectively demolishes the oft-repeated assertion that Herder was merely a co-ordinator of the ideas of others and not an original thinker. He examines Herder "as a thinker and writer on his own merits," while "admitting that he was often a transmitter

of other people's ideas." Unfortunately, in his efforts to explore every possible phase of his subject's life and thought, he takes the reader into bypaths from which it is sometimes difficult to find the way back to Herder. Less detail and fewer names would have made the book more readable. In some parts it is rather a collection of biographical vignettes than a biography of Herder. Furthermore, Professor Clark limits his discussion to Herder's influence on his contemporaries. This leaves a large gap in our knowledge, which has been filled only in part by other scholars. All in all, however, this biography is an important contribution toward a better understanding of the life, thought, and influence of a commanding figure in the history of modern culture.

New York, N. Y.

ROBERT ERGANG

THE HOLSTEIN PAPERS: THE MEMOIRS, DIARIES, AND CORRESPONDENCE OF FRIEDRICH VON HOLSTEIN, 1837-1909. Volume I, MEMOIRS AND POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS. Edited by *Norman Rich* and *M. H. Fisher*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. xxvii, 216. \$5.00.)

FRIEDRICH von Holstein's allegedly sinister role in German politics began to be clarified in 1932 with the publication of his letters to his cousin Ida von Stülpnagel. Their editor, Helmuth Rogge, had started to prepare also for publication Holstein's personal papers when the advent of the Nazi regime cut off the project. After the Second World War the papers found their way to England together with the archives of the German foreign ministry. This is the reason they have now come out in English translation instead of the original German. On account of their bulk, a selection had to be made to compress them into two manageable volumes. In the preface (pp. vii f.) the principle of selection is explained, in the introduction (p. xxvi) the possibility of editorial work by Holstein himself discussed. As to gaps in the relevant material, it is certain, beyond the surmises of the editors, that Holstein's letters to Paul von Hatzfeld were destroyed in an air raid in November, 1943. Bernhard von Bülow's letters to Holstein had been returned to the chancellor by Holstein himself.

The first volume here under review contains memoirs and political observations most of which were written in the years from 1906 on, after Holstein's dismissal. Into the loosely joined narrative the editors have inserted parts written earlier (1883 and 1898) but in each case dealing with the same subject. The ensuing topical sequence of chapters offering little of an autobiographical nature brings out the dominant interest of Holstein's life: foreign policy. Particularly the last three essays of 1908 and 1909 show how the events of the day set his pen in motion. Thus, the appearance of Schlieffen's article in the *Deutsche Revue*, entitled "Der Krieg in der Gegenwart," led him to review British German relations since the Krüger telegram and to comment on "the fateful switching of

our foreign policy in the direction of hostility to England" (p. 163). The *Daily Telegraph* affair called forth further observations on this theme, and, in spite of Holstein's retirement from office, his inside knowledge of conditions and persons involved enabled him to reconstruct accurately the origin of the affair.

The chapter on Bismarck's Russian policy discloses Holstein's known inability to grasp Bismarck's ideas underlying his treaty system. Also, Holstein's growing aversion to Bismarck's overpowering personality and conduct has long been known, but the memoirs furnish a good deal of additional material of denunciation. Altogether, in the realm of personalities, there is no dearth of invective against foreign and German diplomats, and the character sketches often reveal their author as much as their subjects. But the claim that the effect of the publication "cannot fall short of an entire re-judgment of Bismarck, of German foreign policy at that time and since," is quite extravagant. The material published so far adds details and confirms or contradicts inferences from previously known sources.

New York University Libraries

EDITH G. H. LENEL

MODERN GERMANY: ITS HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION. By *Koppel S. Pinson*, Queens College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. xv, 637. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Pinson advises those who must make policy decisions with reference to Germany not to lose sight of the deeper trends in the history of that country that have "shaped the development of its people and laid the basis for its present plight." The reviewer advises students of the German question—which the author calls "The Problem of Europe"—not to overlook Professor Pinson's penetrating study of those trends. The specialist will learn from it. The layman will ignore it at his peril.

It is the Germany of the past hundred and fifty years that Professor Pinson discusses here; but he makes his reader constantly aware that this modern Germany, with all its psychological and behavioral inconsistencies, is in part a natural product of its own peculiar past, in part a somewhat artificial political creation of tough-minded forceful leadership.

The writing is uneven. It is surprising that one who could write so brilliantly about "the clusters of sound that combine to form Wagner's music" (p. 267) could permit himself to compare Bruening with "any other previous chancellor" (p. 469).

While careful to avoid what he calls metaphysical speculation or the translation of "clusters of sound" into words or political ideas or vice versa, the author discusses judiciously the responsibility of Wagner, Nietzsche, and Hegel "for having set upon the sea of German and European culture a lot of ideas and phrases which allowed themselves to be vulgarized and distorted" by others later, as a consequence of which Germany "went berserk" (chap. xxi).

The final chapter, "From Chaos to Uncertainty," dealing with Germany under occupation, is topical in character, dealing separately with subjects such as the Nuremberg trial, denazification, re-education, East vs. West, and so on. The much discussed Nuremberg trial, by the way, the author calls one of the truly great and constructive acts of the postwar period. In the light of subsequent events and revelations, he may by now have revised his opinion as to the extent to which the Spandau prisoners have been forgotten by their countrymen. The tentative character of conclusions is, however, a hazard to be faced and recognized by anyone who ventures into the controversial field of contemporary history—though not a sufficient reason to avoid it.

Text and bibliographical note may perhaps be dated by the fact that Friedrich Meinecke's *Die deutsche Katastrophe* (Wiesbaden, 1946) is mentioned in the former (p. 553) but not in the latter (p. 578). The appendixes include statistics on Reichstag elections, and a listing of the Reich cabinets of the Republic. The documentation is convincing; but the reader is seriously inconvenienced by having to hunt for it in a Jim Crow section at the rear. It—and he—are entitled, this reviewer thinks, to better treatment.

U. S. Embassy, Germany

CHESTER V. EASUM

GESCHICHTE DER REPUBLIK ÖSTERREICH. Edited by *Heinrich Benedikt*. (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1954. Pp. 630. DM 22.50.)

THIS volume is a collaborative work. The first and longest part, written by Walter Goldinger, an archivist and docent at the University of Vienna, deals with the history of Austria between 1918 and 1945. In the second section, Adam Wandruszka, a student of Srbik's, gives a thoughtful analysis of the political movements and party structure of the era. Then there is a relatively short but keen analysis of the economic structure of the two Austrian republics, written by Friedrich Thalmann, assisted by Maria Brandner. Finally, Stefan Verosta, a docent at the University of Vienna, discusses briefly the continuity of the Austrian state and the European mission of his homeland. Professor Benedikt, also of the University of Vienna, has written the preface and supervised and edited the whole project.

All five authors have succeeded admirably in cutting through the mass of partisan legends, prejudices, and antagonisms which have grown up concerning this fascinating, yet extremely depressing, period of Austrian history. The tone of the book is, on the whole, as objective as that of Mary MacDonald's *The Republic of Austria* (London, 1946)—practically the only other nonpartisan work dealing with this period of Austrian history which this reviewer has seen—and is much more comprehensive in scope.

In his historical analysis Goldinger shows how the various political struggles and economic difficulties confronting the Republic led almost inevitably to the destruction of democracy and to the final liquidation of the First Republic. Also

emphasized are Dollfuss' and Schuschnigg's occasional efforts to come to terms with the Social Democrats, their constant and successful essays to free themselves from *Heimwehr* influence, and their repeated attempts, which would have assured Austrian independence, to come to an agreement with the National Socialists.

Wandruszka has penned an excellent critique of the historical development, programs, strengths, and weaknesses of the major Austrian political groups: the Christian Socials, the *Heimwehr*, the German nationalists, and the Social Democrats. He is extremely critical of the *Heimwehr* movement, but perhaps more sympathetic to the German nationalists than the usual American observer. Since the moderates have again gained a preponderant influence in all political parties since 1945, whereas the radicals dominated the scene in the late 1920's and in the 1930's, Wandruszka sees hope that the passionate, deleterious political struggles of the first Austrian Republic may be avoided in the second.

Thalmann presents the reader with a first-rate summary of developments in the Austrian economy since 1918, which well supports his contention that Austria is economically viable. Verosta illustrates how an independent Austria has been and is necessary to the balance of power in Europe.

Although the collaborative nature of the work has led to considerable and at times needless repetition, on the one hand, and to a lack of co-ordination, on the other, and although footnotes and references to bibliographical material are lacking for the last two parts, this reviewer feels that the volume is perhaps the most significant one thus far written on Austrian history since 1918.

University of Texas

R. JOHN RATH

COMMUNISM AND THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR. By *David T. Cattell*.

[University of California Publications in International Relations, Volume IV.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 290. Cloth \$3.75, paper \$2.75.)

AFTER emphasizing at the start that the Civil War "was primarily caused by the outburst of a long accumulation of internal conflicts rather than by the action of a foreign power," Mr. Cattell devotes the greater part of his text to a dispassionate analysis of conflicting claims concerning the role of the party and of Soviet aid to the Republic. The consistent policies of the Communist party emerging from the author's sifting of the allegations against them were the following: (1) to win the war through the creation of a disciplined army; (2) to halt the social revolution in order to retain Spanish middle-class support and win the democratic powers to the Loyalist cause; (3) to continue the struggle against all odds.

The first two aims coincided with those of the liberal republicans and of the masses who loved the Republic without being attached to any specific party. This fact, combined with gratitude for Soviet aid, netted the Communists their wide

popularity in late 1936 and through 1937. Conversely, their determination to fight on until the Spanish struggle should merge in a general anti-fascist war was bitterly resented by that vast majority which yearned only for peace in the winter of 1938-1939. Communist influence mounted and receded with the tide of Soviet aid; it was never a supreme determining factor in the history of the Republic. Even the sanguinary suppression of the Anarchists and the POUM in Barcelona (May, 1937) was strongly supported by Republican, Esquerra, and Socialist elements, though the émigrés tended, after the war, to throw the entire responsibility on the Communist party.

While the book is excellent in its analysis of propaganda, it seems to this reviewer that Mr. Cattell is sometimes the victim of the very type of distorted emphasis that the greater portion of his work painstakingly exposes. In a chapter entitled "Infiltration" he discusses "Communist influence in the cabinet" under one subheading, and defines the International Brigade as "essentially a Soviet force in Spain" although he notes that it was "not composed of communist elements only." Is the world-wide anti-fascist movement of the 1930's, symbolized most concretely in the International Brigade, best interpreted as an arm of the Kremlin? Similarly, if the Communists hold two cabinet posts and if they support Alvarez del Vayo and Juan Negrín in their press and in the complex struggles within the cabinet, does this political activity properly come under the heading of "Infiltration"?

Wellesley College

GABRIEL JACKSON

PEASANTS, POLITICS, AND ECONOMIC CHANGE IN YUGOSLAVIA.

By *Jozo Tomasevich*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 743. \$7.50.)

At long last an excellent study of a Balkan country has appeared—an economic history of the Yugoslav peoples. It consists of three parts. The first part (pp. 9-210) describes the political and socio-economic development of individual Yugoslav national groups from medieval times to 1914 and shows the historical background of the diversity of Yugoslavia's economic tradition. The trends which characterized Yugoslav agriculture and the peasantry during the interwar period were already pronounced before 1914. These trends included "a rapidly rising population," an expanding market and money economy, a growing dependence of the village economy upon credit, an increasing division of peasant property holdings, and with these a corresponding "pauperization and proletarianization of the peasantry" (pp. 215-16). This first part of the book, especially the historical section, although packed with a great deal of useful information, lacks a system of periodization. The author, furthermore, relied too much on legalistic literature, which often and for long periods of time failed to coincide with actuality.

The second part of the book (pp. 217-32) discusses the impact of World

War I on the Yugoslav peasantry and agriculture. The peasant learned that the food he produced was "a key factor for both the military and the civilian economy." Moreover, as a soldier during the war he became of necessity a great "traveler" (p. 230) and learned new ways of thinking and of doing things. He also became an important factor in the political life, and peasant political parties grew in stature and power. The war hastened "the final abolition of feudal and quasi-feudal forms" of agriculture (p. 232). Unification of the Yugoslavs into a single state out of the shambles of the Habsburg and Ottoman empires was completed, but the peasants were faced with a new problem—the winning of political democracy. This, of course, they never achieved.

The third and by far the largest part of the book (pp. 233–727) is devoted to the development of the Yugoslav state. The author examines the constitutional struggle, the problems of state administration, and the political parties and their programs. To develop a unified Yugoslav polity out of culturally, religiously, economically, and historically diverse regional traditions was indeed a difficult task. Whatever the shortcoming of the Yugoslav government, the interwar period, according to the author, "was a great improvement over the political conditions under which the South Slav nations lived until 1918" (p. 261). After the discussions of the natural resources, the growth of population, the good and bad aspects of the agrarian reform, the author summarizes the basic causes of Yugoslav interwar instability and the plight of the peasantry: "the growing agricultural over-population . . . the unsatisfactory relationships between prices of products the peasant sold and those that he bought, the increasing need for credit, and the growing tax load . . ." (p. 382). The situation might have been somewhat mitigated, the author suggests, if a part of the sizable taxes paid by the peasants were used for "a systematic development of nonagricultural productive resources." But this did not seem possible since most of the tax revenue was used for "the financing of government administration and national defense" (p. 702).

Those interested in the economies of underdeveloped countries will find Dr. Tomasevich's book extremely valuable. The problems of Yugoslavia are characteristic in varying degree of all other Balkan and underdeveloped countries. These are the problems of rural overpopulation, the fragmentation of landownership, a backward technology, and a dearth of capital and skilled labor. The author's chief contribution is not that he discovered something new or that he advanced a novel economic theory. The lasting importance of the book will be that it represents an interpretive synthesis of all available statistical and other data on the Yugoslav economy. With his multilingual equipment Professor Tomasevich utilized every bit of information written on the Yugoslav economy and integrated an enormous quantity of fragmentary materials into an outstanding magnum opus.

The reader will find that Dr. Tomasevich's account of Yugoslav economics is devoid of the national and religious prejudices peculiar to so many of the

scholars working on Yugoslavia. Unlike many economists, he recognizes the importance of history and presents his work historically. Only a person possessing an intimate knowledge of Yugoslav history is capable of writing a book on its economic development. It is hoped that Professor Tomasevich will write a sequel to this volume treating the development of the Yugoslav economy since 1941.

Stanford University

WAYNE S. VUCINICH

Far Eastern History

ENNIN'S TRAVELS IN T'ANG CHINA. By *Edwin O. Reischauer*, Professor of Far Eastern Languages, Harvard University. (New York: Ronald Press Company. 1955. Pp. xii, 341. \$5.00.)

ENNIN'S DIARY: THE RECORD OF A PILGRIMAGE TO CHINA IN SEARCH OF THE LAW. Translated from the Chinese by *Edwin O. Reischauer*. (New York: Ronald Press Company. 1955. Pp. xvi, 454. \$7.50.)

ONE of the world's great travel books is here for the first time made available in a Western language. The two volumes should be read and used together. *Ennin's Diary* is a complete translation of the day-by-day record kept, in Chinese, by the Japanese Buddhist monk Ennin during his trip to China and his stay there, 838-847. The translation is painstakingly accurate. The copious footnotes, detailed yet concise and to the point, aid both the specialist and the general reader. *Ennin's Travels* gives background information on the diarist, his work, and his trip. Most of this volume consists of presenting the salient materials found in the diary in a more systematic fashion, elucidating them from the modern historian's point of view, and augmenting them with pertinent information from other sources. Access to the rich information in both volumes is facilitated by thorough indexes.

Among the many topics on which the diary throws light are the following: (1) Seafaring. Ennin went to China on a Japanese embassy ship, and returned on a Korean merchantman. (2) Travel in China on foot and by boat. Roads and waterways were usually in good condition (*Travels*, p. 142). The highways were remarkably free from robbers (*Travels*, pp. 138-39). (3) Economic conditions. Parts of the Shantung peninsula must have been wooded, because charcoal was shipped from there to other parts of China (*Diary*, pp. 103, 395; *Travels*, p. 153). Imperial orders forbade the sale and purchase of copper (*Diary*, p. 48; *Travels*, p. 2) and iron (*Diary*, p. 49; *Travels*, p. 3). (4) Daily life in China. Popular festivals and official holidays are described in detail (*Travels*, pp. 124-35). Chairs were beginning to come into use (*Diary*, pp. 52, 111, 353; *Travels*, p. 214). Bathing, at least in the monasteries, was a rare luxury, reserved for great festivals (*Diary*, pp. 63, 123, 310; *Travels*, pp. 91, 133). (5) Dealings with the Chinese bureaucracy (*Travels*, pp. 100-23). The diary quotes numerous documents

exchanged between the Japanese travelers and Chinese officials. (6) Chinese Buddhism. Unlike the vast literature dealing with Buddhist *doctrine*, Ennin's diary is a precious source for the *practice* of popular Buddhism in China (*Travels*, pp. 164-216). A tragic climax of Ennin's experiences in China was the great persecution of Buddhism in 845 (*Travels*, pp. 217-71).

While dealing mostly with China, the diary is also informative on the Japanese and Koreans. We meet many members of the Japanese embassy which Ennin joined, and Professor Reischauer gives a well-rounded account of this and earlier Japanese embassies to China (*Travels*, pp. 39-99). Korean trading communities are encountered in Northeast China (*Travels*, pp. 281-86). The dominant role of Koreans in the trade between East China, Korea, and Japan is brought out (*Travels*, pp. 276, 286-87), and we are introduced to the colorful Korean adventurer Chang Pogo, who built up a prosperous trading empire and decisively intervened in Korean politics (*Travels*, pp. 287-94).

A minor error is the statement that Persians and Arabs were perhaps the first to use the compass in navigation (*Travels*, p. 274). The earliest mention of the maritime use of the compass, in the *P'ing-chou k'o-t'an* of 1119, has been discussed by Kuwabara Jitsuzō ("On P'u Shou-kêng," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 2 [1928], pp. 68-70). Correcting a misunderstanding of this passage by F. Hirth, Kuwabara has shown that it refers to Chinese, not foreign, ships. Professor Reischauer also misrepresents Marco Polo in calling him illiterate (*Travels*, p. 3) and a merchant (*Travels*, pp. 1, 4).

In considering the scope of this remarkable diary, it is useful to realize the limitations as well as the breadth of Ennin's observations. He sees everything primarily from the viewpoint of a Buddhist pilgrim. The food he consumes and describes is naturally a Buddhist vegetarian diet. Aside from Chinese officials, innkeepers, Korean merchants, and Japanese fellow travelers, the majority of the people he meets are Buddhist monks. Perhaps the most striking negative quality of the diary is that Ennin himself fails to emerge as a personality. There is hardly anything to set him apart from other devout Buddhist pilgrims. He is nevertheless an accurate, if biased, observer. We are grateful to him for having left to the world a record of absorbing interest, and to Professor Reischauer for elucidating it and presenting it in such a way as to appeal to both scholars and laymen.

University of California, Berkeley

HANS H. FRANKEL

THE CHINESE GENTRY: STUDIES ON THEIR ROLE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CHINESE SOCIETY. By *Chung-li Chang*. Introduction by *Franz Michael*. [University of Washington Publications on Asia.] (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1955. Pp. xxi, 250. \$5.75.)

THE Chinese "gentry" (*shen-shih*) as a status group is attracting increasing attention. During the only major discussion held in the U.S.S.R. (in 1931) on

the character of Oriental society, a party-line spokesman sharply rejected the interpretation of the Chinese gentry as the nonofficiating sector of a bureaucratic ruling class, but he offered no proper evidence for his position. And recent attempts to present this group as determined by landownership rather than by actual or expected state service are similarly deficient. This situation gives special significance to Chung-li Chang's *The Chinese Gentry*, which deals with the controversial issue fully and with new methods of social science.

Professor Franz Michael, who worked with the author during all stages of his planning and research, has written a preface that illuminatingly surveys earlier observations on the Chinese gentry. The book itself consists of four separate "Parts." The first, "An Inquiry into the Constitution and Character of the Gentry of Nineteenth-Century China," lays the foundation for two pioneering socio-statistical studies of this group and an investigation of the relation between the gentry and the examination system at the close of imperial China.

Elsewhere I have reviewed the occurrence of bureaucratic notables ("gentry") in China prior to the examination system and in other "Oriental" civilizations. Here it is enough to say that Dr. Chang's amply documented inquiry leaves no doubt as to the government-service orientation of the group he studied. Examinations were the primary road to "gentry" status; and the lengthy preparations entailed imbued the candidates with the right spirit for a bureaucratic career. The members of the "upper gentry" of Chang's classification—the leading sector of the gentry hierarchy—were predominantly "civil and military officials and holders of official titles." And the latter as well as the numerous members of the "lower gentry" engaged in a variety of "gentry services," the most important of which were "quasi-official."

Part Two is, to my knowledge, the first statistical analysis of the nineteenth-century Chinese gentry. Chang's discussion of the role of the examinations reveals the life of the greater part of the *shen-shih* as a veritable "examination life." His concluding investigation of 5,473 gentry biographies, in which interesting problems of source material and method are raised, substantially enriches the picture of the bureaucratic gentry given in the earlier pages of the book.

Chang's study is an important contribution to the institutional history of recent China. Its conscientious research goes far to establish the China of yesterday as a root of modern pre-Communist and Communist China.

Chinese History Project, New York

KARL A. WITTFOGEL

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF JAPAN: GROWTH AND STRUCTURAL CHANGE, 1868–1938. By *William W. Lockwood*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954. Pp. xv, 603. \$10.00.)

THIS study is the outgrowth of the author's long interest in the international aspects of Japan's economic growth. After several years of laborious work, he

has produced a valuable volume which is both a condensed economic history of Japan during seventy years of its modernization and a technical economic study of the dynamics of economic growth. About one fourth of the text is devoted to the historical survey, which includes an extensive account of the role of the state in Japan's development. (See chapters 1-3 and 10.) The main part of the book analyzes the various features of this growth in terms of technology, capital, foreign trade, and structural change. It also points out how Japan's development may serve as a helpful guide to contemporary, underdeveloped countries faced with problems of industrialization. Over forty tables and charts give substance to the conclusions presented in the text.

The author approaches his subject by an examination of Japan's national income to determine the type and extent of growth and change. In so doing, he challenges numerous hypotheses concerning modern Japan. He maintains, for example, that the drive for foreign markets was not *the* motor force of Japanese industrialization. On the contrary, foreign trade grew because the industrial revolution created greater productivity and wealth. The author also claims that the importance of foreign markets to Japan's economy has been overexaggerated. He concludes that the domestic demand for manufactures continuously absorbed most of the output of industry, most primary products and services (p. 369). While one cannot dispute the validity of this argument, it tends to give a wrong impression. Is it not true that foreign markets were significant for Japan not in proportion to their extent but in relation to essential food imports bought in exchange for exports?

He also de-emphasizes the role of the state in creating the framework of industrialization and claims that more credit should be given to the part played by individual initiative and private capital. While his points are persuasive, he appears to have overstated his case. He notes, for example, that after 1900 the elder statesmen gradually disappeared, the commercial class and political parties grew in influence, and "the emphasis in national economic policy shifted increasingly from national power to wealth and well-being, at least for the propertied class" (p. 573). Actually, Prince Ito was active up to his death in 1909 and Yamagata exerted a powerful influence until his demise in 1922. Their two protégés and other oligarchs were premiers for practically all the time until 1924. For the next eight years, when party cabinets ostensibly ruled, the oligarchs and militarists continued to control the nation. Certainly their policy toward China, from the Twenty-One Demands in 1915 to the outbreak of full-scale war in 1937, was directed more toward creating "national power" than "wealth and well-being."

It might have been helpful for the general reader if more space had been devoted to the significance of economic growth before 1868, to Ito's role as creator and director of the ministry of industry, and to the importance of the vast government holdings and enterprises in Hokkaido. One wonders, also, why a con-

temporary economist is quoted as having noted the advantages for Japan of a ready reservoir of technology, when Veblen made this point a generation ago (p. 268). Finally, in view of the fact that the author has some reason to doubt the national product estimates of Professor Yuzo Yamada, which were used in discussing structural change, it is hoped that the author will continue his studies along this line.

But these criticisms are concerned largely with details. This study, the only one of its kind for the period covered, has greatly increased our knowledge of how Japan's modern, economic metamorphosis came about. As a careful case history of how a state industrializes, it should be of interest to the layman and to the specialist on Asian affairs as well as to the economist and historian.

Columbia University

HUGH BORTON

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1938. In five volumes. Volumes III, IV, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publications 5672, 5697.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1954, 1955. Pp. iii, 768; iii, 638. \$3.50, \$3.25.)

NINETEEN thirty-eight was a year of anxiety. It was the last year of relative peace for Europe. It was the first full year of war for Asia. In Europe it was the year of the Czechoslovakian crisis and the Munich Agreement. In Asia it was the year of the fall of the Wuhan cities, of Canton, of the flight of the Chinese government to Chungking.

These volumes, read in conjunction with the previously published *Foreign Relations of the United States, Japan, 1931-1941* (Volumes I and II), add much to our knowledge of the war in Asia and the efforts of the United States government to cope with it. Volume III in its entirety and 583 pages of Volume IV bear the subtitle "Undeclared War between Japan and China." Volume III chronicles the story, as seen by our diplomatic representatives, of Japan's continued plunge into China and her attempts to bring China under military and administrative control. Standing out less clearly are Washington's attempts to deal with this "new situation in the Far East," as the Japanese were wont to call it. Included also in Volume III are self-contained sections concerned *inter alia* with: developments in Manchukuo and Russo-Japanese conflicts along its borders; China's appeal to the League of Nations for sanctions against Japan; possibilities of financial and other aid to the Chinese government; China's efforts to obtain war matériel from other countries; problems posed by Japan's efforts to control the Chinese Maritime Customs and the Salt Revenue Administration.

Most of Volume IV is devoted to the direct impact of the war upon American interests in China. Here we have the everyday stuff of which diplomatic relations are often, if not usually, made: protests against Japanese interference with American treaty rights and with the "Open Door"; protests against the effects of Japa-

nese naval measures upon American shipping on the rivers and off the coast of China; the settlement of the USS *Panay* incident; protests against injury to Americans and American property as a result of continuing hostilities; problems of opium control within newly established Japanese administrative areas. In the latter part of Volume IV there is an interesting section in which Ambassador Grew, and others, recount the increasing swing toward the right and toward totalitarianism in Japanese affairs.

To this reviewer, the most interesting part of both volumes is the extent to which they reflect the unsuccessful struggles of the United States government to devise a policy toward the "undeclared war" in general and toward Japan in particular. Basically, it would seem, the task was impossible, because Japan insisted that there was no solution as long as the United States refused to recognize that a "new situation" had been created in the Far East (III, 355-56) and because the United States insisted that no solution could be reached except on the basis of the Nine Power Treaty of 1922 (III, 46).

By the end of the year this impasse should have been clear. It appears to have been clear to Ambassador Grew (IV, 99-100), but in Washington there was still hesitation (see III, 236, 569, 571, 573).

Perhaps the dilemma in which the Department of State found itself is best expressed in a memorandum written by the Secretary of State himself and concerned with a Treasury Department proposal that a barter and credit arrangement be worked out with the Chinese government. Secretary Hull rejected the proposal. "Naturally," he wrote,

all American officials are equally desirous of getting rid of surplus production and they are also equally anxious to see Japan defeated in her purpose by the exercise of force to dominate the Far East and repudiate and render inoperative the Nine Power Treaty. In these circumstances all our Government officials, therefore, would be equally disposed to see this government indulge in any word or act consistent with its situation and short of the serious risk of becoming involved as a party in the military conflict between China and Japan that would be calculated to discourage the Japanese military objective and to encourage Chinese military resistance [III, 574-75].

The Secretary thought, however, that the proposed barter agreement would be considered a political act by the Japanese, who would charge the United States with having made itself a party to the conflict on the side of China. "This transaction," he concluded, "and the incident relating to it when combined with other acts, which might follow, of injury and possible retaliation by Japan would result in a serious possibility of this country being drawn ultimately into a war, as stated. . . . I cannot . . . either advise or concur in the course proposed" (III, 575).

As to the technical aspects of these volumes, the reviewer finds the topical arrangement of the subject material useful, though it tends, to a degree, to break up the continuity of the work. The index is poor.

University of Maine

JOHN J. NOLDE

SELECT DOCUMENTS IN AUSTRALIAN HISTORY, 1851-1900. Selected and Edited by C. M. H. Clark, Professor of History, Canberra University College. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson. 1955. Pp. xviii, 866. 70s.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AUSTRALIA. Volume IV, 1846-1850. By John Alexander Ferguson, Fellow of the Royal Australian Historical Society. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson. 1955. Pp. xii, 732. £9 9s.)

WITH his second volume of select documents Professor Clark has continued and improved his fine contribution to students of Australian history. Whereas 350 documents occupied 419 pages in Volume I, there are only 310 in approximately 800 pages here, and some are over five pages in length. These longer documents make for greater interest. The book is divided into very broad topical sections—gold, economic history, political history, and social history—and within each section there are two more breakdowns so that the documents can be selected by subject. Professor Clark feels he has made the best arrangement of materials but regrets that “an arrangement by topics tends to push personalities off the historical stage” (p. xvi).

The introduction is longer than that of Volume I, and there are introductions to each section and subsection. Here Professor Clark makes a great contribution. He proposes many new interpretations and rejects many of the popular ones, ex., the tendency “to attribute the movement for land reform, political democracy, and the agitation against the Chinese to an unspecified and unidentified group of radicals on the gold fields” (p. xi), and reminds us that there are “two bites at political democracy in our period” (p. 316) and that the second is as important as the first. Provocative suggestions by the dozen are thrown out to historians. That the period 1851-1900 has been virtually a “dark age” in Australian historiography merely heightens Professor Clark’s contribution. Moreover he writes with wit, grace, and charm.

Explanatory notes are attached to more than half the documents. The suggested readings are extensive and helpful, though his definition of a primary source is incorrect. It is to be regretted that almost none of the documents are from manuscript material. A separate section on religion would also have helped, particularly as his comments on religion (pp. 660-63) are illuminating.

But one should not cavil. When he has completed Volume III (1900-1950) he will have completed a fundamental study. The distinct impression is that Professor Clark knows much more than he tells us; in time we hope he will write a detailed history of Australia.

Judge Ferguson in his fourth volume has now completed his original objective of including “all *printed* matter relating to Australia wherever published” up to 1850, and the result is a reference work whose scope and completeness will rank it among the very great bibliographies. He chose 1850 because “a new era had commenced”—penal transportation had virtually ceased, Victoria had become a separate colony, responsible government was in sight, and, most important, gold

had been discovered, with consequent stimulus to wealth and population. He plans a fifth volume, covering the period 1851-1900, but on a different selective basis, omitting classes of material fully covered elsewhere.

The entries in this fourth volume are from 4214 to 5591, and an "Addenda to Vols. I-III" of almost 200 pages has included all discoveries originally omitted, thus bringing the total entries to over 6000. The author can now claim that every "book, pamphlet, broadside, newspaper, magazine, or Government paper or report of any importance" (p. vii) has now been included. There are some thirty-eight full-page illustrations, and an index by subject and author of over sixty-five pages. The entries follow the pattern of previous volumes—chronological by year of publication and alphabetical within the year. A picture is thus secured of the country's growth and development. Many fascinating glimpses into Australian history can be had by thumbing through the pages. The only items deliberately excluded relate to Captain Cook and his voyages, because they are well covered by other bibliographies. Occasional weaknesses appear in the index.

Australia has been fortunate in preserving its written evidences well, and doubly fortunate in possessing a bibliographer of Judge Ferguson's stature. All historians throughout the world are profoundly indebted to him, whose painstaking care, industry, and scholarship have produced a masterpiece.

Rutgers University

SAMUEL CLYDE MCCULLOCH

American History

CONSERVATISM IN AMERICA. By *Clinton Rossiter*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1955. Pp. 327, xii. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR Rossiter's book is, in the strict sense of the term, challenging. It puts questions, challenging questions, to a rather amorphous group, the conscious and unconscious "conservatives" in American life, and it challenges a number of articles of the democratic dogma as held in America and by most Americans, including the conservatives. In preaching the need for a consideration of the claims of conservatism and of the character of those claims, Professor Rossiter is, of course, not fighting against the tide. "Conservatism" like "religion" is a popular word in America today. Professor Rossiter surely makes the tolerance of the word "conservative" too recent and too limited? "The union as it was; the constitution as it is" was an openly conservative slogan eighty years ago. But undoubtedly, the naïve belief in "progress" that marked American society in one way down to 1929 and, in another, down to 1939 or 1945, has now to fight for survival. It does fight; in face of the most eminent native-born or imported prophets of gloom, American "cheerfulness keeps breaking in." "Democracy," "liberty" are used vaguely enough still and every technological discovery is "progress" except possibly the H bomb. But in the face of a world in a "state of chassis" that would

have startled the Paycock, a reconsideration of fundamentals is called for, now that no one or hardly anyone thinks that America can contract out of the human situation. So far, Professor Rossiter is simply adding to a large body of polemical and scholarly literature of uneven value. But his book is to be warmly welcomed for reasons that apply to no other item (known to me) in the growing body of American conservative literature.

First of all, Professor Rossiter, as all conservatives should do but as many conservatives don't, keeps his feet on the ground. (Liberals are at home in Cloud-Cuckoo Land, not conservatives.) He refuses, for example, to take over, perhaps even to take seriously, the conservative dogmas of European doctrinaires. Freedom is not just the free market, and, for a conservative who is not an inverted Marxian, politics are more important than, indeed must include, economics. If American conservatism has been often a limping and irrelevant *ad hoc* set of slogans on the one hand and a demoralizing bias on the other, it has been due to forgetting this. Whether Coolidge meant it that way or not, the dictum that "the business of the United States is business" is not a basis for any soundly conservative society. But Professor Rossiter is a realist. He knows that without a soundly and intelligently conservative business class, there is no possibility of an effective conservative theory or practice in America and he does not think that, so far, the American business class has lived up to its responsibilities or duties. This is an example of Professor Rossiter's refreshing candor and objectivity. He is no nostalgic hankerer after a lost agrarian order, nor does he think that Burke, neat, is a useful beverage for American daily refreshment. He notes, I think he could stress more, the nearly universal acceptance of the American way of life by *all* classes of Americans that limits conservatives as well as radicals. American conservatism must be democratic and, in some sense, egalitarian. And as he notes, the American business class has a claim on American respect that the "tenth transmitter of a foolish face" has not. America may not be in the era of "Acres of Diamonds," but it is far from the social conflict of the *Communist Manifesto*.

Dr. Rossiter looks forward to an alliance of what we may, without offense, call the naturally conservative "intelligentsia" and the business leaders. He notes that the alienation of the intellectuals, especially the college teachers, is a grave weakness. How much have trustees to answer for! He notes, too, the irrelevance of many mere slogans and the dangerous weakness of conservative leaders who accept McCarthyite allies.

As I have said, this is a challenging book. Some challenges call for the answer "yes," others for further explanation. Thus I can fully appreciate Professor Rossiter's stress on the importance of "religion." The "Protestant ethic" is one of the most important forces in American history, but I am not quite clear what it means today. Professor Rossiter is light miles apart from crusaders like Mr. William Buckley, but I am not clear as to whom or what he is near. Sometimes he writes like a French conservative politician of the nineteenth century preach-

ing "l'ordre moral." France did not gain much by that type of religion and I doubt if the United States will. I have no doubt that Dr. Rossiter does not mean that, but like Kingsley and Newman (*mutatis mutandis*) I am tempted to ask, "What does Dr. Rossiter mean?" He should tell us in another book as good as this.

Cambridge University

D. W. BROGAN

FROM LEXINGTON TO LIBERTY: THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Bruce Lancaster*. [Mainstream of America Series.] (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1955. Pp. viii, 470. \$6.00.)

THE work of popularizers presents a dilemma to the professional historian. He is committed to believing that his subject should arouse public interest and is usually aware that he himself cannot sell his caviar to the general; how then is he to regard a writer who takes the caviar, spices and perhaps adulterates it, and then sells it successfully? Such marketing is a service to the profession insofar as it arouses the public taste for history, and a disservice insofar as it blunts the taste perception that should distinguish romance from reality. The ideal solution would of course be for both the professional and the popularizer to learn the other's difficult and exacting art. Until that ideal is realized, books like *From Lexington to Liberty* will continue to pose the dilemma.

Mr. Lancaster writes well. His craftsmanship, with the skeleton of structure and the surface of words, is so skillful that the reader is soon reconciled to the volume's bulk. Certain mannerisms, it is true, are repeated until they annoy: "the first team" and "the top brass" lose all force as modernisms and stagnate as clichés; roars of indignation echo along the Atlantic seaboard until they grow monotonous; the narrative occasionally wanders into the future with ludicrous effect ("an ominous shadow trailing off toward the unborn hours of the nineteenth of April"). But these are minor tricks of style, which in sum do not seriously impair a presentation that is lucid, fast-moving, and vigorous.

From the historical viewpoint, as distinct from the literary, Mr. Lancaster's handling of his theme is most uneven. His descriptions of Washington's errors during the New York campaign, of Steuben's work at Valley Forge, and of Greene's generalship in the Carolinas are particularly good. Some of his estimates of leading figures are on the same high level, but most are not. The ability of Charles Lee and Arnold is consistently belittled, that of Gates and Cornwallis exaggerated. Phrases are attached to people, particularly Britishers, whom they do not fit: the portrayal of Germain as an "almost fabulous oaf" is itself based on fable; "honest, tough-souled Billy Phillips" was honest enough and perhaps tough-souled (whatever that grandiose phrase may mean), but never Billy; Sir Henry Clinton, for all his faults, was neither "dour" nor "surly." In such small details Mr. Lancaster reveals that he is less familiar with his cast of characters than he pretends to be.

The same is true of the causal background, and here again the weakness is more marked in dealing with British than with American developments. The author contends, for example, that the genesis of the Revolution was the attempt of George III and his followers to turn Britain and the empire "away from the centuries-old drift toward representative government and back to feudalism"; that Germain lost the Saratoga campaign by failing to keep Howe informed (that old chestnut); that Howe moved against Philadelphia because Charles Lee persuaded him to do so, and that Clinton evacuated it because of the French naval threat rather than on orders from London. Many of these misinterpretations have a respectable ancestry. The list of them is not long for a book of such scope, and they do not significantly falsify the story. But they do indicate how caviar suffers from marketing.

University of Michigan

WILLIAM B. WILLCOX

ROBERT MORRIS, REVOLUTIONARY FINANCIER: WITH AN ANALYSIS OF HIS EARLIER CAREER. By *Clarence L. Ver Steeg*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for American Historical Association, 1954. Pp. 276. \$5.00.)

AFTER a thorough study of Robert Morris as the financier of the Revolution, Ver Steeg concludes that his program undoubtedly saved the credit of the new government, and that as a whole it was as soundly, and indeed as brilliantly, conceived as was Hamilton's, for they were almost identical. Hamilton succeeded where Morris failed (at least in part), but Morris' failure was not due to the program but to the conditions under which it was introduced, and perhaps somewhat to the differences in character and personality of the two men. Ver Steeg's thesis is that Morris was one of the most important merchants in the country during the Revolution, engaged in nine major companies, trading extensively to the West Indies and Europe, at home in the intricacies of international finance. Because of this position, he was asked to become the first Superintendent of Finance, an office created in 1781. Likewise because of this position, there was an inevitable confusion of his business and political life, just as there had been between 1776 and 1781, and his program must necessarily have been conceived in terms of a successful businessman—sound credit, excess of revenues over expenditures, economy of administration, payment of debt regardless of who held the debt, speculator or original owner, and a national rather than a local system of taxation and finance. It is not that his program was intentionally designed to benefit one class as against another, it is simply that, because of his background and training, he could have conceived of no other set of principles upon which to base a system. There was inevitably criticism of this confusion of interests, and the whole affair resembles in many ways the criticism which has recently been directed at certain cabinet members for not making as clear as they might the difference between their personal and their public business.

This is the most authoritative and complete study that has been made of Morris' financial activities, and I believe it definitive, certainly in terms of the known material. The study sketches Morris' early career very briefly, then outlines the development of his plans for financing the Revolution, and describes the operation of each in detail—the system of contracting for supplies, the Morris notes, the bank, the plans for funding the national debt. All these developments are set in the framework of the economic and political conditions prevailing at the time, and the author takes adequate account of the differences existing at any one time in the major sections of the country. Except in the South in the latter years of the Revolution, it would appear that basically the country was in excellent shape—good crops, active trade, a healthy condition generally speaking except in the finances of the central government. The crisis of 1781 did not grow out of the distress of the people but out of the imperfections of the financial system, which Morris set about boldly and intelligently to correct. He was in the main successful, and the curious fact is, according to Ver Steeg, that had he been completely successful, in funding the debt for example, there is a fair possibility that he would thereby have greatly prolonged the life of the Confederation.

The book is done largely from original sources but gives due credit to those who have gone before. It was published under the auspices of the Albert J. Beveridge Committee of the American Historical Association; it is a credit to the printer, although a little more open page would have improved its readability. It is adequately indexed and fully documented. In summary, it is a first-class monograph.

University of Louisville

PHILIP G. DAVIDSON

THE DULANYS OF MARYLAND: A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF DANIEL DULANY THE ELDER (1685-1753) AND DANIEL DULANY THE YOUNGER (1722-1797). By *Aubrey C. Land*, Associate Professor of History, Vanderbilt University. [Studies in Maryland History, Number 3.] (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society. 1955. Pp. xviii, 390.)

This is a family biography of the same genre as J. T. Adams' study of the Adams family of Massachusetts and Burton J. Hendrick's *The Lees of Virginia*. It is a species of historical writing fairly uncommon in America and as such deserves attention as a useful device for portraying a broad span of American history by focusing attention on the successive generations of a single family that played a prominent role in the affairs of their times.

To be sure, the Dulanys of Maryland cannot be compared with the Adamses or the Lees either in the length of their appearance upon the stage of American public affairs or in the quality of their performance. Daniel Dulany the Elder immigrated to Maryland from Ireland in 1703, married well, prospered in the practice of law, and rose quickly to a position of eminence in the provincial bar

and in the political affairs of the colony. Originally he was a leader of the "country party" that fought the pretensions of the Lords Baltimore, and in the course of this battle published his famous pamphlet, *The Rights of the Inhabitants of Maryland to the Benefit of the English Laws*. Later in life he switched sides to become one of the most loyal and able supporters of the proprietary interest in Maryland. His son, Daniel Dulany the Younger, enjoyed if anything even greater prominence as a practitioner of the law. According to one reliable contemporary, he was "indisputably the best lawyer on the continent." Like his father, the younger Dulany achieved fame as a "liberal" only to move into the conservative camp. His tract, *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies, etc.*, was regarded throughout the colonies as one of the most effective blows delivered against the Stamp Act. But Dulany could not stomach some of the more radical attacks on royal and parliamentary prerogatives, and when independence was declared he became a Loyalist. As such he was forced to retire from public life and the main stream of American history passed him by.

In a sense this book is less of a biography of these two men than it is a political-social-economic history of the province of Maryland in the eighteenth century. The fact is that Dr. Land was severely handicapped by the sparseness of materials bearing directly on the lives of his two subjects. He had very few personal letters to draw on and was compelled to rely largely on official records and the correspondence of the Dulanys' contemporaries. It is all the more remarkable then that he has been able to piece together such detailed biographical accounts.

In some ways it is fortunate that in writing what is basically a "life and times" of the Dulanys, the author chose—or was compelled by the nature of his materials—to dwell heavily on the "times." In so doing he has presented a revealing and many-faceted picture of life in colonial Maryland. The workings of the plantation economy, the practice of law, the operations of the courts, public and private morals (or lack of them), social customs of the gentry—all these matters and many more come under Dr. Land's scrutiny. He writes of them with perception and, what is more unusual, with great wit and charm.

Washington, D. C.

PHILIP A. CROWL

THE BEGINNINGS OF UNITARIANISM IN AMERICA. By *Conrad Wright*.

(Boston: Starr King Press; distrib. by Beacon Press, Boston, for American Historical Association. 1955. Pp. 305. \$4.00.)

In view of the quantity of literature dealing with the development of Puritanism in New England, it is strange that nobody hitherto has written a detailed analysis of the growth of religious liberalism during the eighteenth century. Dr. Wright's careful and well-written study of this important phase therefore meets a real need. Beginning with the Great Awakening and ending with the election

of Henry Ware as professor of divinity at Harvard in 1805, he traces the evolution away from Calvinism in the writings of Charles Chauncy, Jonathan Mayhew, and a number of younger ministers. His title is somewhat misleading since he is concerned not with fully developed Unitarianism but with the transitional movement generally known as Arminianism. During the eighteenth century there was relatively little controversy about the divinity of Christ and the doctrine of the Trinity. The Arminians began by criticizing the dogmas of man's total depravity and inability to save himself and went on to emphasize God's benevolence to mankind rather than his punishment of sin and to argue that Christianity was based on rational evidence rather than on the inner experience of divine grace. As Dr. Wright shows by means of some useful maps, the movement was almost restricted to eastern Massachusetts and to graduates of Harvard.

Dr. Wright points out in his introduction that "the Arminians may be defined in terms of their position within the social structure of New England as well as in terms of their theology." Developing among the wealthy mercantile families, the movement was by no means liberal in its political and social implications. Its opposition to the "enthusiasm" of the Great Awakening seems to have been largely motivated by fear of the democratic implications of New Light revivalism, while at the end of the century, as Dr. Wright shows in detail, most of the Arminians were staunch Federalists, defenders of the economic status quo, and enemies of deism and "infidelity." Their rationalism did not go further than an insistence on the rational proofs of the authenticity of the Biblical record. Dr. Wright, however, does not analyze in any detail the relationship between Arminian doctrine and the economic background but largely confines himself to the theological controversies in which its spokesmen became engaged. Nor does he examine very fully the counterattack of the Edwardean movement, which by the end of the century had won control of Yale and of most of Connecticut and western Massachusetts. The evolution of the "new divinity" has, of course, been fully described by other writers; but since he concentrates on the Arminian side of the conflict, Dr. Wright does not enable his readers to form a full appraisal of the issues. Although the Edwardean theology meant moral and intellectual obscurantism, it was based on a tragic recognition of the existence of evil which was incomparably more realistic than Arminian optimism. As between Chauncy's *Benevolence of the Deity* and Edwards' *Original Sin*, the former is, no doubt, more conducive to the progress of civilization but the latter presents a much more penetrating view of the human predicament. Any complaints about the limits within which Dr. Wright has chosen to work are, however, somewhat captious. This is a definitive study of the Arminian theology in New England and constitutes a valuable addition to American intellectual history.

New York University

H. B. PARKES

THE INDIAN AND THE HORSE. By *Frank Gilbert Roe*. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1955. Pp. xvi, 434. \$5.00.)

THE plains Indians who shielded the Far West in the days of the white conquest have always occupied a special niche in the literary and historical tradition of the American people. The culture of the tribes, particularly the place of the horse among them, has intrigued the anthropologists and historians, and their writings are voluminous upon this phase of Indian life. In 1914 Clark Wissler first published an article showing the influence of the horse upon the Indian. In 1938 Francis Haines first mapped the distribution of the horse among the plains tribes, showing the known dates when the various tribes first had horses. Between the published works of the two scholars numerous studies appeared concerning the place of the horse in these primitive societies. *The Indian and the Horse*, an elaboration of the same author's "From Dogs to Horses among the Western Indian Tribes" (*Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1939), is an attempt to assess the literature since 1914 and to present a general picture of the influence of the horse upon the western Indians.

The book is a sustained argument, using the technique of historical criticism, with a number of scholars who have written on the subject of the horse and the Indian. The author successfully modifies some of the previously held points of view and summarizes the evidence in other cases. These modifications might be thus summarized: dogs continued to be used as beasts of burden after the Indians got the horse; the Indian did not get the horse from the "strays" left behind by Spanish expeditions; the map showing the distribution of the horse among the tribes published by Haines is an accurate record; the wide appearance of the pinto and the white stallion remains unanswered; the horse did not cause innovations in the Indian cultural pattern, but it did intensify older practices such as frequent moves. The chief contributions of the horse, says Roe, lay in the spiritual realm (the "sense of possession was psychological tonic itself"), in emancipating the women from the heavy duty of carrying heavy loads, and in widening the stage on which the Indian operated.

Roe laboriously works through the source materials and secondary works, liberally sprinkling his personal reminiscences as he moves along, and comes to the conclusion that Wissler's work published in 1914 is still fairly sound. On the influence of the horse among the plains tribes he notes that Walter Prescott Webb and J. Frank Dobie also share his point of view. Then he concludes: "I really do not see what other broad conclusion can be reached from a careful review of the historical evidence." It is doubtful that as many as eighteen chapters, documented with 1,568 footnotes, 3 appendixes, and 21 pictures were needed to modify the original Wissler thesis on the influence of the horse upon the western Indians.

Wisconsin State College, River Falls

WALKER D. WYMAN

THE LAND THEY FOUGHT FOR: THE STORY OF THE SOUTH AS THE CONFEDERACY, 1832-1865. By *Clifford Dowdey*. [Mainstream of America Series.] (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1955. Pp. viii, 438. \$6.00.)

THE publishers of the "Mainstream of America Series" most laudably hope that by restoring the narrative quality and the personalities to American history they may induce the public again to read history. *The Land They Fought For* is a stirring narrative of the South's struggle as a minority section and then as a nation from 1832 to 1865, with implications running to the present. The author shows a thorough comprehension of the deeper meaning of the struggle, a fairly uncommon trait in those who write of this period. Yet the facts of his narrative are sometimes inaccurate. For example, the Missouri Compromise did not extend to the Pacific, and the Confederate president or government did not establish a cotton embargo. The embargo—a very effective one—was on a local level. The author's factual errors are obviously the result of carelessness in rechecking his data.

Mr. Dowdey is merciless in his criticism of many of the leading figures, Jefferson Davis, Braxton Bragg, and Joe Johnston being the most "worked over" characters of the story. Without question much of the author's criticism is sound—perhaps all he says about Bragg is correct—but some is based on incomplete information. Davis' policy of military "dispersion," one of the author's objects of criticism, was forced on him by the demands of the states that they be protected from federal invasion. (See F. L. Owsley, *State Rights in the Confederacy* [Chicago, 1925].) The president's tenacity in holding on to Vicksburg and Petersburg was due in part to the pressure from the adjoining states and in part to his conviction that these vital places could and must be defended. As the author repeatedly says, Davis was a martinet, exacting, controversial, and often untactful. By his controversies he wasted precious time and made enemies of men whose support he needed; but Davis was no egomaniac nor was he a gentleman merely on the surface as the author believes.

It is difficult to deal with sensitive, bull-headed Joseph E. Johnston without losing patience. The author has no patience with the general. Though he flays Davis for holding on to fixed positions and territory, he is just as unsparing of Johnston—whom he dubs "Retreatin' Joe"—for so easily giving up territory. There must be a middle ground. Davis was probably wrong about Vicksburg but right about Petersburg, and Johnston was wrong about withdrawing from Manassas in 1862 and right when by retreating before Sherman in 1864 he kept a powerful army "in being."

Despite occasional factual errors and some untenable evaluations of persons and situations, Mr. Dowdey has written a book that deserves a wide reception.

University of Alabama

FRANK L. OWSLEY

JEFFERSON DAVIS: AMERICAN PATRIOT, 1808-1861. By *Hudson Strode*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1955. Pp. xx, 460. \$6.75.)

THE immediate event which motivated the writing of this biography, the author tells us, was his indignation over reading a contemporary newspaper clipping describing the ironing of Jefferson Davis at Fort Monroe. From that starting point the biographer went forth to interview "the direct descendants" of the Confederate president and came across a large collection of family letters held by Davis' grandson Jefferson Hayes-Davis and not hitherto available to scholars. Assisted by this important find and possessing a vivid and pleasing style, Mr. Strode has made a contribution to our knowledge of Jefferson Davis as a human being. Preceded by the excellent study of Rembert Patrick some years ago, this fresh and entirely credible portrait marks a turning away from the trend of caustic criticism of Davis that has characterized much of the writing on the Civil War. This study is particularly good in describing the relations of Jefferson Davis to his two wives, to his children, and to his older brother Joseph, who had so much influence on him. There is a fascinating delineation of Varina Davis, especially in respect to her neurotic illnesses and her jealousy of Joseph Davis. In seeking to revise a current stereotype of Davis as aloof, cold, and unfeeling, Mr. Strode has convincingly portrayed "the great warmth of heart" of his hero, especially to his intimates (among whom was notably Franklin Pierce). His picture of Davis as a young lieutenant shows him, far from possessing the austerity of later life, to have been often gay and debonair. It seems to the reviewer that the great reserve which as a public man Davis displayed to strangers was a protective device for a personality that was extremely sensitive to criticism.

If the author had ended his biography with the return of Jefferson Davis as a hero from the Mexican War, he would have written an admirable study of personality. The weaknesses of *Jefferson Davis: American Patriot* lie in the second half of the volume, in which Davis' political career is described. Here the author suffers from a lack of a specialist's knowledge of the politics of the period. The real problem of a biography of Davis is to evaluate the quality of his statesmanship. Here the author fails, primarily because he has become so much an admirer of his subject that he has lost detachment and consequently the power of criticism. He admits that Davis made a mistake in supporting the Kansas-Nebraska bill, but otherwise the Mississippi senator represented a noble cause, even in the matter of proslavery imperialism. Davis, Mr. Strode thinks, was the strongest man the South had in 1861, yet much of his study shows Davis' unfitness to be president of a revolutionary Southern republic. This study vividly describes the frequent attacks of neuralgia that he had in the decade before the Civil War. These attacks, which seriously impaired his eyesight and paralyzed him with pain, invariably occurred as a result of psychic strain whenever any crisis arose that deeply disturbed him. One of the episodes most revealing of Davis' character

which Mr. Strode narrates is the quarrel with Winfield Scott. In the course of the altercation these highly egotistic men indulged in a correspondence of vituperation that was ludicrous and fantastic. It revealed Davis' dangerous sense of pride, his sensitivity to criticism, his combativeness over small things, defects that later were to bear bitter fruit when he became president of the Confederate States.

University of Kentucky

CLEMENT EATON

THE NORTH REPORTS THE CIVIL WAR. By *J. Cutler Andrews*. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1955. Pp. x, 813. \$6.00.)

FROM time to time probably every Civil War scholar has been tempted to undertake the comprehensive story of the battlefield correspondents and has blanched at the magnitude of the job. Professor Andrews, after devoting more than ten years to the impressively widespread research involved, has finally done the job, and in a most creditable fashion. Essentially he has limited himself to the Northern press, but occasionally, by way of contrast, he introduces samples of Confederate reporting. His approach is to follow the development of the war in pretty much the conventional fashion, beginning with Sumter, Bull Run, and the West Virginia skirmishes and, after shifting from theater to theater, ending with Five Forks. The result, for the most part, is a highly lucid, although considerably simplified, running account of the war, with greater than ordinary emphasis on the activities of the inland fleet and the joint Army-Navy operations.

The coverage of the war by the major Northern newspapers was little short of amazing. The New York Associated Press was quite active but dissatisfaction with its rates and services led to the formation of the Western Associated Press in 1862. Even so the leading newspapers throughout the North maintained their own correspondents in all important military theaters. On occasion, three or four representatives of the same journal collaborated on an especially significant operation. The New York *Herald* was particularly openhanded, spending an estimated \$500,000 to \$750,000 for coverage during the war, but other New York newspapers averaged between \$60,000 and \$100,000 a year in 1861-1862. Professor Andrews has identified some three hundred individual correspondents of the Northern press.

As might be expected, the newsmen varied widely in education, experience, character, and ability. There were crack reporters such as Whitelaw Reid (*Cincinnati Gazette*), Charles C. Coffin (*Boston Journal*), Sam Wilkinson (*New York Tribune*) and Henry Villard (*New York Herald*), but there were also those who were wholly inadequate, writing irresponsibly of events they had not witnessed and reporting battles that were never fought. In general, however, Civil War reporting, necessarily spotty, was better than might have been anticipated, although Villard thought it declined in quality after 1862.

The reporters had no official status in the armed forces, but some of them caught on as temporary aides of one kind or another to various officers. With notable exceptions, they were a hard-working, sometimes hard-drinking, lot, engaged in a highly dangerous profession. Subject to sudden death and just as sudden expulsion or even court martial, they were engaged in a constant struggle with censorship, inadequate communications, physical and mental exhaustion, and human frailty in both themselves and others.

The basic issue between the reporters and the "brass," both military and political, was the touchy question of the right of the public to know the truth as against the right of the armed forces to relative security. Both sides in the argument were guilty of gross abuses and the problem was never solved. At best a working agreement was effected, at worst the reporters were arbitrarily penalized, but a number of military reputations suffered in consequence.

The North Reports the Civil War is an impressive addition to the literature of the period. By virtue of a grant from the Buhl Foundation it sells for less than the cost of publication. Six hundred and fifty-three pages are devoted to the text and one hundred twenty to painstaking and highly illuminating notes. The chief defect is a tendency of the author to be drawn into anecdotal diversions which frequently are inconsequential and occasionally are largely irrelevant and which slow up the pace. It would be an even better book if it were cut by some twenty per cent. There is a valuable appendix listing the names and newspapers of the various war correspondents. An excellent bibliography and a good working index round out a book which is quite solid both physically and in content.

Colgate University

CHARLES R. WILSON

CIVIL WAR ON THE WESTERN BORDER, 1854-1865. By Jay Monaghan.
(Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1955. Pp. x, 454. \$6.00.)

IN *Civil War on the Western Border* Jay Monaghan has given that subject an essentially orthodox treatment. The war is made to begin in 1854, and the Kansas question, 1854-1860, is interpreted almost exclusively as an antislavery-abolition episode leading directly into the larger American Civil War of 1861-1865. He has taken more than ordinary pains to present persons in the drama realistically as he sees them, thus removing some of the usual glamour but without destroying the basic moral-issue theme with which he invests the whole. Also, he makes a special effort to produce a work of literary art, a procedure which introduces conspicuously the subjective element. Seemingly incredible, but true nevertheless, though about half the book is devoted to a description of military strategy and tactics of the border warfare of 1861-1865 there is no map of any kind.

Two kinds of questions arise about the success of the author in the task he has set himself; scholarly accuracy per se, and its relation to literary form. The verdict must emphasize the negative, but without being drastic, on both points.

In view of the state of research and questioning, as of 1955, about the decade under review, the validity of a treatment so traditional and monolithic in character is doubtful. Somewhere the nature and extent of the ferment among historians should be reflected.

The factual basis of much of the narrative is distressingly inaccurate, or doubtful without the controversial character of the evidence being indicated. Several examples are cited. The City of Kansas was and still is above Independence (p. 8). G. W. Brown did not come to Kansas with the first or any other Emigrant Aid Company party (p. 10). Charles Robinson was not an abolitionist (p. 37). No such stream exists in Kansas as Osawatomie creek (p. 39). The name Osawatomie is a synthetic one invented to apply to the town; a hybrid of the first and last parts of the names of the streams that joined at the townsite—Os-age and Potawatomie. "Titus's new and gleaming pillared mansion" of 1856 was only a log house (p. 77). Martin White was not originally a proslavery man but a free white-state man who was driven into the so-called proslavery party by the excesses of the freestate party (p. 81). Hinton was not a Scotsman (pp. 91, 323). "Colonel" Harvey did not command a regiment in 1864 (p. 323), because he had died December 22, 1857.

In the class of controversial matter, a number of items may be listed about which the truth has been fairly well established or at least the doubtful character of the evidence has been exposed. In these Monaghan has adopted dubious, or at times even the least probable, versions: the elections of November, 1854, and March, 1855 (pp. 14 ff., 18 ff.); Judge Lecomte and the first murder case (p. 14); the arrival of J. H. Lane (p. 24); the convention period of 1855, the Topeka constitutional convention, and the Wakarusa war (pp. 30 ff., 35 ff.); the battle of Osawatomie (p. 81); Montgomery's raid on Fort Scott (p. 109). The strictly Kansas-Missouri border warfare, especially the period of 1861-1862 is inadequately handled; the stark reality that should balance the scales is diluted or absent without leave. John Brown, James Montgomery, Quantrill, and other controversial characters haunt these pages in much their legendary forms.

Only the sales record will determine the verdict of the readers of popularized history in terms of the author's ability to catch their interest, but the scholar cannot rely upon it although he may find some insights that stimulate thought.

University of Kansas

JAMES C. MALIN

JOHN A. KASSON: POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY FROM LINCOLN TO McKINLEY. By *Edward Younger*. (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa. 1955. Pp. xi, 450.)

THIS book is not a hurried project carried out by standing upon the intellectual shoulders of workers in the historical vineyard, as is sometimes the case, but the fruition of years of painstaking research and reflection. Quotations are

expertly woven into the narrative, not indented and set in fine print only to be hurdled by the reader.

The story begins in Vermont and follows its subject to Virginia, Boston, St. Louis, Des Moines, Washington, Vienna, Berlin, and Paris. Each new environment into which Kasson moved is expertly described, and his reaction to it related to the broad undercurrents of the times sweeping on into the future. Kasson, for example, was appointed in 1884 as the American minister to Germany and selected as delegate to the Berlin Conference on the International Association of the Congo at a time when the industrial system of the United States was beginning to produce "mountains of surpluses." Kasson supported the program for freedom of trade and navigation in the Congo Basin, elimination of trade in slaves, liquor, and firearms among the natives, and settlement of conflicting colonial claims by mediation and arbitration, not by war. It was but the second international conference in which the United States had officially participated in over a hundred years, and the groans of the newspapers expressed the public reaction to getting embroiled in European power politics. The Berlin General Act of 1884 was never signed by the United States, to Kasson's great disappointment. But he foresaw the day when the United States would participate in a score or more of such meetings in a single year and shoulder responsibilities and duties.

After a brief, excellent introduction by William J. Peterson, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, the author opens with a well-written chapter which arouses the reader's interest. One misses, however, a similar masterful closing chapter. One misses also a bibliography, though the extensive notes make up in part for this omission.

Kasson was one of the thousands of Vermont Yankees who joined the flood of emigrants to the West. He studied and successfully practiced law in Boston, moved to St. Louis, and then to the rising city of Des Moines. He served three terms in the Iowa assembly, six as congressman, was minister to Austria-Hungary, 1877-1881, and to Germany, 1884-1885, delegate to the Congo conference and to the Berlin Samoan International Conference in 1889, commissioner on reciprocity, 1897-1898, and on the American-Canadian Joint High Commission in 1898. As a delegate to the Chicago convention in 1860 that nominated Lincoln, he helped to write its platform. As first assistant postmaster general, he at times conferred with the President and effectively represented the United States in the historic first International Postal Congress.

Factional politics after the Civil War both in Iowa and in the nation, and his beclouded divorce, hindered his rise to higher office. To his Vermont "granite," he added polish in speech and manner, genial ways, urbanity, eloquence, dynamic energy, and masterful diplomacy. Kasson belongs to that group of secondary figures in history without whose aid and support statesmen whose names headline pages could not have achieved the results which history records. He was one of the leading Iowans of his age. For almost a half century he served his state

and nation, and the Republican party, loyally and efficiently as a constructive conservative. The State Historical Society of Iowa has brought out this excellent biography in beautiful format.

Ohio University

A. T. VOLWILER

POLITICAL PRAIRIE FIRE: THE NONPARTISAN LEAGUE, 1915-1922.

By *Robert L. Morlan*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1955. Pp. 408. \$5.75.)

THE 1916 elections brought to national attention a "political prairie fire" in the upper Midwest. The year-old Nonpartisan League had won every branch of the North Dakota state government except the senate. The last of a long line of farmers' movements, the League sprang from the usual grievances, but there were elements of freshness in its approach. The tightly controlled nonpartisan bloc which operated across party lines was new and so was the obvious influence of a number of avowed socialists.

The League won complete control of North Dakota in 1918, and its program—a mixture of schemes for state ownership, co-operatives, and conventional progressive reforms—was carried to completion in a fury of controversy. The movement soon collapsed, however, the victim of war hysteria, the red scare, normalcy, and the mismanagement of its state enterprises. Yet something of the revolt remained in the farm state insurgency of the 1920's and in the La Follette campaign of 1924. The Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota was a direct descendant. And in North Dakota, where several of its state enterprises still flourish, cherished by conservatives and Leaguers alike, the League survives as the New Dealish wing of the dominant Republican party.

This account has much merit. The essential public facts about the League are presented in a lively narrative which will prove indispensable to all students of farmers' movements and of progressive politics in general. But it is also somewhat disappointing, for it is largely surface history. The socialist roots of the League are noted, but the extraordinary vigor of socialism in rural North Dakota receives no comment. The real significance of the League's appearance so soon after the three Progressive administrations of "Honest John" Burke is missed. Inner relationships get too little attention. There is no assessment of the roles of such men as William Lemke, Lynn Frazier, E. F. Ladd, and John Baer. The only living figure in the whole book is A. C. Townley, the founder of the League.

It is time we had a sympathetic study of the League by a competent scholar, but it is regrettable that this comes so close to apologia at times. The footnotes reveal too much dependence upon League publications for facts as well as for League views. Moreover, the author has overlooked some manuscript collections (especially the Lemke papers) and several unpublished studies which might have contributed considerably to making this what it was intended to be, the definitive

history of the last important farmers' revolt. This book is the best we have on the subject, but the inner history of the Nonpartisan League is still to be written.

University of North Dakota

LOUIS G. GEIGER

THE FEDERAL ANTITRUST POLICY: ORIGINATION OF AN AMERICAN TRADITION. By *Hans B. Thorelli*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1955. Pp. xvi, 658. \$8.00.)

THIS study of American antitrust policy is in three parts. The first comprises a discussion of the formative period of antitrust thought, tracing the background of events, its roots in American and British policy and practice, and the interplay of post-Civil War ideas that produced the Sherman Act. Part Two documents and analyzes the political and economic trends of the first decade of the Sherman Act's existence, its administrative execution, and the court decisions defining and shaping its effectuation. This portion of the book closes with 1903, the point at which, in the author's view, the central problems of antitrust policy had been located and the main avenues of action indicated. Part Three, chiefly recapitulation and appraisal of early federal antitrust policy, draws generalizations and conclusions concerning its establishment and its integration into the American social and economic institutional framework.

Mr. Thorelli believes that by synthesizing the economic, legal, administrative, and popular opinion of the period in which an important public policy was developed and established, the social scientist may more precisely identify the meaning of the policy itself, and the process of its institutionalization made clearer and more exact. By bringing to bear on the study of an economic policy all the resources of the different social sciences, he hopes to arrive at a balanced judgment of that policy, placed in its proper setting and perspective.

In the main the author's attempt at synthesis is methodologically successful. Certainly, by amassing and focusing tremendous amounts of evidence from journals, legal briefs, court decisions, legislative discussions, political conventions, and other sources in the period 1865-1903, he has given himself a broader base of materials from which to approach antitrust policy than has before been made available. Some of his material is new; much of it documents various generalizations that have long been current; and at least a portion of his study seriously challenges certain accepted ideas about the formation and execution of antitrust policy in its formative period.

There were, the author explains, numerous forces operative in the development of antitrust opinion in the post-bellum years—changes in social structure, the continuance of common-law traditions, the rise of Social Darwinism and the "New School" of economists, shifts in ideology, and many more. The result was a general body of thought which he labels "economic egalitarianism," an extension and amplification of the tradition of free enterprise and open competition.

The Sherman Act was a concrete example of this trend, and Mr. Thorelli's discussion of it is one of the most valuable portions of the section. Congress, in his opinion, knew exactly what it was doing, and why, when it adopted the Sherman Act. Congress intended to guarantee the continuance of a private enterprise system founded on "free and full competition." Facing a relatively new, imperfectly understood, and incredibly complex problem, Congress provided for flexibility in the law, hoped for its self-enforcement, and based it on a policy of prohibition and prevention rather than one of regulation and supervision. Contrary to some opinions, Mr. Thorelli believes that the aim of the Sherman Act was simply and clearly to eliminate restrictions on competition by establishing the principle of competition as a worth-while end of public policy. That the Sherman Act in its early years languished, Mr. Thorelli believes is directly the fault of the administrative branch of the federal government in its top echelons; the three Presidents preceding Theodore Roosevelt were simply not interested in making the law effective. The year 1903, with the establishment of the Anti-Trust Division, the Bureau of Corporations, and the Northern Securities case, thus marked a conclusion, rather than a turning point, in the institutionalization of an economic policy long in forming, and finally translated into law by the Sherman Act.

Mr. Thorelli's analysis of the origination of antitrust policy is informative and convincing. The policy itself is rooted, as he illustrates, deep in tradition. The Sherman Act and its early history point up the central problem of the period, that is, how to make the doctrines of democracy produce democratic results in an industrial age, how to get Jeffersonian and Jacksonian results in the age of Herbert Spencer and Jay Gould. The genesis of antitrust policy lies in its paradoxical attempt to protect freedom of economic enterprise—a principle in keeping with cherished doctrines of Darwinism, laissez faire, and individualism—by limiting the freedom of certain businessmen and firms in denial of those doctrines. Embedded as antitrust policy is in our national tradition, the problem of harmonizing it with our economic existence is not yet solved. This book, by throwing light on its origin and early development, contributes substantially to our understanding of the problem, if not to its ultimate solution.

Michigan State University

RUSSEL B. NYE

FOREIGN POLICY AND PARTY POLITICS: PEARL HARBOR TO KOREA. By *H. Bradford Westerfield*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1955. Pp. x, 448. \$6.00.)

THE contention that political differences must cease at the water's edge is today made both frequently and vehemently. This study of congressional treatment of foreign policy issues begins accordingly with the premise that partisan-

ship is undesirable and that bipartisanship is unworkable. The author proposes as a saving alternative something called "extrapartisanship" which on examination turns out to be nothing more than a fresh label for techniques already used in hushing political opposition. As a presentation of a new approach to the problems of democratic control of foreign policy the contribution of this volume is consequently very slight. Its worth is to be found instead in its description of the role of parties in dealing with foreign relations in the present political framework.

Foreign Policy and Party Politics is divided into three parts, the first being a statistical survey of congressional roll calls for the period 1943-1950. This analysis demonstrates what students of politics already know, that the split in the Democratic party usually occurs on North-South lines while the geographic divisions among the Republicans are more likely to be between the coasts and the interior. Part II is devoted to a useful description of the party machinery for setting policy and profits from the author's year of work in congressional offices.

The value of this study for the historian is to be found in the third and major section which consists of an account of party action on foreign affairs from 1939 down to the outbreak of war in Korea. Using the *Congressional Record*, hearings, memoirs, newspapers, and some personal interviews, each of the major decisions is examined with a commendable degree of impartiality. Chapters are devoted to the war period, the ratification of the U.N. Charter, the passage of the European Recovery Program, and to the recognition of Israel. Relations with Russia and the China issue are each given two chapters. For the period as a whole, partisanship is found to have declined after Pearl Harbor and to have remained at a relatively low level until after the 1948 elections when the China question again raised bitter political differences.

While decrying partisanship, Mr. Westerfield is ready to admit that lack of opposition has its dangers. The Republicans after December 7, 1941, were so anxious to live down a record which in wartime could be attacked as unpatriotic that they abdicated their critical function. As a result the issues raised by the unconditional surrender policy toward Germany and the character of American support of the Soviet war effort received much less consideration in Congress than in retrospect they seem to have deserved.

In writing of the China debate, the author successfully avoids the extremes of the Democratic apologists and of the Chiang Kai-shek wing of the Republican party. He believes that the Truman-Acheson program was remiss in not making a greater effort to salvage a non-Communist China and he is critical of General Marshall's role in his ill-fated mission. On the other hand, he points out the slowness with which the Republicans awoke to the situation and their failure to push vigorous action until it was too late.

As a result of his survey, Mr. Westerfield suggests a number of ways in which

the State Department can woo congressmen into what he calls greater "cooperation," but which on Capitol Hill would be called "rubber stamping" administration measures. Granting the dangers of blind opposition, if democracies are to be democratic in anything but name, honest differences of opinion will always exist to prevent the presentation of a monolithic front to the rest of the world.

Goucher College

WILLIAM L. NEUMANN

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

THE APPRECIATION OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL SCIENCE DURING THE RENAISSANCE (1450-1600). By *George Sarton*, Rosenbach Fellow in Bibliography, 1953. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955, pp. xvii, 233, \$5.00.) The lectures contained in this erudite little volume were originally delivered at the University of Pennsylvania in the author's capacity as Rosenbach Fellow in Bibliography, and their bibliographical character has been intensified in their present enlarged form. As his criterion for estimating the appreciation of ancient and medieval science during the Renaissance, Dr. Sarton has taken the quantity and quality of the texts published during the century and a half from 1450 to 1600. As a result, his work is largely a bibliographical catalogue of early printed editions of the works of the ancient and medieval writers on medicine, natural history, mathematics, and astronomy, enriched with biographical notes on editors and printers and brief comments on the history of the ancient texts and their transmission through the medium of medieval Moslem or Christian translators and commentators. As anyone familiar with Dr. Sarton's rather frightening erudition would expect, the book is crammed with factual information. It will be an immensely useful reference work for historians of Renaissance science. Except for the cumulative evidence of the great scholarly interest in ancient science during that period, however, no very clear picture emerges, and the author's interpretive comments, interesting though they are, tend to be lost under the mass of bibliographical detail. There was obviously no place in a book devoted to the editors and publishers of texts for consideration of those unlearned and empirical "rebels," as Sarton calls them, who made the most original contributions to science during those years. Sarton gives them full credit in passing for "doing work which, from the point of view of the historian of science, was equally important and sometimes more so" (p. 3). Nevertheless, his exclusive preoccupation here with scholarly publications leads at times to unguarded generalizations about Renaissance science as a whole which are in fact chiefly applicable to the humanists whose interest in the ancient texts was primarily philological. Preoccupation with the printed word also tends to limit unduly his conception of the nature and chronological scope of the Renaissance, the beginning of which he makes contemporaneous with the invention of printing. "The more I think of it," he writes, "the more convinced I am that the age of incunabula was the infancy of the Renaissance itself" (p. 89). Even if one equates the Renaissance with humanism—a procedure of doubtful validity—the middle of the fifteenth century is a rather late date for the beginnings of an intellectual movement that had its heroes before Gutenberg.

WALLACE K. FERGUSON, *New York University*

PERSONALITIES AND POWERS. By *Sir Lewis Namier*. (New York, Macmillan, 1955, pp. vii, 157, \$3.00.) The value of this small volume which brings together twelve essays and lectures by Sir Lewis Namier, previously published in various periodicals, is not to be judged by its size. While all twelve are worth republishing, four in particular more than justify the reissue in book form: "Monarchy and the Party System"; "King George III: A Study of Personality"; "Country Gentlemen in Parliament"; and "Basic Factors in Nineteenth-Century European History." In the

opinion of the reviewer Sir Lewis has never written anything more significant during his very fruitful career than his Romanes Lecture on "Monarchy and the Party System"; and only equaled it in the first two chapters of his *Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*. From the point of view of American undergraduates the "Basic Factors in Nineteenth-Century European History" is unquestionably the most valuable of the twelve essays; and if these students could be compelled to read it both at the beginning and the end of a course on the period most of them would emerge with a clearer conception of nineteenth-century Europe. In all twelve essays the reviewer found only one major point upon which he could even mildly dissent: the character sketch of George III. Granted that George was as mediocre in ability and warped in personality as Sir Lewis has portrayed him, this description fails to take into account that even a king with these limitations who applies himself to affairs of state as conscientiously as this king did can, over the years, acquire a working knowledge denied to abler ministers who are in and out of office. More than one prime minister has acknowledged this fact after serving rulers less gifted than himself.

DONALD GROVE BARNES, *Western Reserve University*

VORLÄUFER SPENGLERS: STUDIEN ZUM GESCHICHTSPESSIMISMUS IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Hans Joachim Schoeps*, Professor für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte an der Universität Erlangen. [Beihefte der Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte, I.] (2d ed.; Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1955, pp. 105, 8 fl.)

TOYNBEE UND DAS PROBLEM DER GESCHICHTE: EINE AUSEINANDERSSETZUNG MIT DEM EVOLUTIONISMUS. By *Ernst F. J. Zahn*. (Cologne, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1954, pp. 48, DM 3.80.) That German scholars should display a special interest in the forerunners of their compatriot Oswald Spengler as well as in the works of Arnold Toynbee appears fitting, since Toynbee has been called with good reason the "Spengler after World War II." In dealing critically with these intricate topics both authors show acumen and much common sense, even though they treat their subjects from a different angle and with different aims in mind. Dr. Schoeps, a professor of history of religion and philosophy at the Erlangen University, gives mainly a historical study, showing the genetic development of the Spengler type of thought. He emphasizes the outstanding place occupied among Spengler's forerunners by one Karl Friedrich Vollgraff (1792-1863), a professor of what we would call political science at Marburg University and author of a series of cumbersome writings. Among them is a three-volume opus with a monstrous title of twenty-eight words which, says Professor Schoeps, could have more fittingly been called "The Decline of the West," since it uses—as did Spengler later—the romantic notion that historical phenomena are organisms for demonstrating the fallacy of the idea of historical progress and for predicting the end of all human cultures. Vollgraff influenced the Catholic thinker and parliamentarian Peter Ernst von Lasaulx (1805-61), a professor of archaeology and philosophy of history at Würzburg and Munich who married the daughter of the father of political Catholicism, Josef Görres, and whose main work, the *Neuer Versuch einer alten auf die Wahrheit der Tatsachen gegründeten Philosophie der Geschichte* in turn strongly affected the thinking of Jakob Burckhardt. While Professor Schoeps analyzes primarily the historical evolution of this trend of thought down to Spengler (who by the way had never heard of Vollgraff), Ernst Zahn in his critical but attractive study on Toynbee talks mainly as a philosopher and methodologist who attempts to refute Toynbee's a priori construction of cultural entities which "distinguish themselves from Spengler's *Kulturwesen*, not in principle but only by definition." Zahn cannot find that Toynbee—as Schoeps

seems to believe—has managed to overcome some of the fallacies inherent in the treatment of cultures as organisms. Apart from their intrinsic value, both studies offer useful data for an analysis of the sociological foundations of this type of thought, which since its incipience in the first half of the nineteenth century has developed from an ideology of aristocratic reaction (its partisans being Vollgraff, Lasaulx, and even Burckhardt) into a fashionable historical philosophy popular in the ranks of the international upper middle class following both world wars.

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN, *Washington, D. C.*

DENKER UND KÄMPFER: GESAMMELTE BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DER ARBEITERBEWEGUNG. By *Helmut Hirsch*. (Frankfurt am Main, Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1955, pp. viii, 188, cloth DM 16.50, paper DM 14.50.) This book is "local history," so to speak, in terms of socialism. This is a worth-while undertaking, particularly for the intellectual historian, as it prevents such abstractions as the modern "isms" from becoming meaningless. In this "contribution to the history of the workers' movement," Professor Hirsch introduces us to figures like Theodor Erasmus Hilgard, Friedrich Hilgard, and Karl Friedrich Köppen—a close friend of Karl Marx from the latter's student days in Berlin—whose lives, though in themselves of no great interest or importance, shed further light on the position of the Socialist in the mid-century German lands. Of equal interest is Hirsch's study of Moses Hess, the "father of German Social Democracy" and patron of Marx. For while it does not pretend to offer anything more than an inventory of the Hess papers in the archives at Amsterdam of the Social Democratic party of Germany (SPD), it contains some illuminating information about Hess's cult of Napoleon III. In view of the development of socialist thought in twentieth-century Russia, it is significant that even Hess should have written, "We need soldiers and generals, dictators, emperors. In order to defeat the counter-revolution we need Napoleons" (pp. 93 f.). Professor Hirsch gives us, too, a chapter on the Karl Marx file of the Paris police—in which the monocol Marx appeared as an agent of Bismarck (p. 126)—that has value as a historical curiosity. Other chapters of the book deal with the foundation of the First International and with Jean Jaurès as historian. But while this volume contains some worth-while raw material, it has no shape. It would almost seem that the author had been more concerned with cleaning out his bureau drawers than with creating a coherent and sustained work. He would have been well advised to resist the temptation to include a paper—originally written for a seminar—comparing Marx and Tarlé on Napoleon Bonaparte. The miscellaneous nature of the chapters of Professor Hirsch's book suggests the pitfalls of an excessive preoccupation with byways rather than with highways. Professor Hirsch seems sometimes to have lost his way among the former. How otherwise could he, in the face of the above-quoted statement by Moses Hess, maintain without qualification that socialism, even nineteenth-century socialism, was dedicated to a "liberation" of man from inequality?

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER, *Smith College*

THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA, 1906-1913: A STUDY OF FINANCE AND DIPLOMACY. By *Charles Vevier*. (New Brunswick, N. J., Rutgers University Press, 1955, pp. ix, 229, \$5.50.) In a remarkably short space Mr. Vevier has written a vivid and dynamic reappraisal of American diplomacy in China during the seven-year period which included the fall of the Manchu dynasty and ended with the American recognition of the Republic. It is a story of the part that men such as Harriman, Schiff, William Howard Taft, Knox, Wilson, and Willard Straight played in our China policy. "The approach emphasizes American relations with China as they were

affected by the techniques of cooperation between Washington and Wall Street." The approach is not categorical but rather that of the diplomatic historian who presents men and events through analytical narrative. The style is lively and the material documented, but there are many judgments on personal motives which, however plausible, could be verified only by the persons themselves. Mr. Vevier has used the Crane, Marvin, Reid, and Straight papers, among private collections, and has made ample use of the resources of the Library of Congress and university libraries for the papers of presidents, secretaries of state, and others. The author has read widely in the relevant autobiographies, biographies, and memoirs. There is nothing listed in any language other than English, but there is no particular reason, given the author's problem, why there should be. Mr. Vevier argues that Taft's China policy was a shopkeeper diplomacy, a dollar diplomacy which contrasted with the grandiloquent sentimentality of the Hay Open Door. Manchuria was the chief field in which American financial and commercial interests became high policy. The State Department's effort to employ the American Banking Group as an instrument in China for political ends became a "covering plan for Harriman's activity in Manchuria." American diplomacy had failed, as early as 1910 and the Chinchow-Aigun railroad was lost. "A policy praised for its sophistication and realism . . . was . . . unable to discern clearly where to draw the line between private and national interest . . . the victim of the financial tool that it had employed with such optimism in 1901." Mr. Vevier has made a very good case.

GEORGE E. TAYLOR, *University of Washington*

THE MEDITERRANEAN AND MIDDLE EAST. Volume I, THE EARLY SUCCESSES AGAINST ITALY (TO MAY 1941). By Major-General I. S. O. Playfair, *et al.* [History of the Second World War, United Kingdom Military Series.] (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office; New York, British Information Services, 1954, pp. xxv, 506, \$8.00.) This is the third volume of the British official history of World War II to be published and the first of six volumes covering air, ground, and sea operations in the Mediterranean and Middle East. In contrast to the British official history of World War I and the comparable official American series for each service in World War II, its focus is the operations of all three services, mainly against the Italian armed forces, for approximately one year. It purports to be written primarily from the point of view of the theater commanders of all services, but it includes considerable material at the lower as well as higher levels of command. Because it adopts the interservice viewpoint it presents a better-rounded picture of all the military aspects of the war in one large area of operations than do the other comparable official series. The limited scope of operations in the period prevents the sacrifice of significant detail about one service, though this will scarcely hold for later operations. The authors of this volume, who had full access to official Allied and Axis records, give sufficient information to detail the air, ground, and sea operations from mid-1940 to mid-1941. The account of tactical operations and logistical support appears to be generally balanced, comprehensive, and fair to all sides. The only narrative so far to cover this span of World War II, it will appeal to the general reader, and it has lessons for the serious military student. It contains notable examples of bold, aggressive military leadership, like Admiral Cunningham in the Mediterranean, like General O'Connor in the Western Desert and, above all, like Colonel Wingate in Ethiopia, who was always willing to take large risks with small forces and was one of the outstanding combat commanders of World War II before his meteoric career was cut short by an untimely fatal accident. On the debit side of the ledger are serious shortcomings. First, there is the deliberate omission of documentation from official sources on the unsatisfactory pretext that private scholars will not be allowed to use them

for another generation. This contemptuous attitude toward current historical scholarship as well as the wholly gratuitous threat of indefinite government monopoly creates a barrier to the acceptance of British official history as thoroughly objective and tends to impair confidence in the official historians, no matter how dispassionate they may be. Another disturbing feature of the book is the alarmingly uniform tendency to justify the selection and conduct of British operations in every case as the best that conditions permitted. Even without the official records for another generation one suspects that this was not always the case. Finally, the authors overestimate the salutary effect of Churchill's constant interference in operations and blind themselves to the harmful effects of his ubiquitous intervention, especially since much of it is based on his poor understanding of basic military principles like the concentration of superior force in decisive areas.

SIDNEY T. MATHEWS, *Johns Hopkins University*

THE GREAT INFLATION, 1939-1951. By A. J. Brown, Sometime Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, Professor of Economics in the University of Leeds. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. xiv, 321, \$4.80.) Four great periods of virtually world-wide inflation have occurred in modern times. The first was the long period lasting about a century during which the treasure of the Spanish Indies served to raise prices throughout western Europe. The other three great inflations have been associated with the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars (1790-1812); the First World War (1913-20); and the Second World War (1939-51). The fourth inflation is the subject of this book. Professor A. J. Brown in the first part of his treatise explains in simple theoretical terms the nature and sources of inflation and gives a compact, yet comprehensive, account of the different phases of the 1939-1951 inflation. Historians will profit from his breakdown of the inflation into the following stages: (1) economic mobilization, 1939-December, 1942; (2) the war economy, from late 1942 to the end of the war; (3) demobilization, August, 1945, to June, 1946; (4) the postwar boom, June, 1946, to August, 1948; (5) the recession of August, 1948, to August, 1949; (6) the impact of devaluation, September, 1949, to June, 1950; the Korean war boom, June, 1950, to May, 1951. The author then devotes nearly all the rest of the volume to a lucid and acute analysis of the main factors working for and against inflation in some thirty or more countries: war expenditure, the price-wage spiral, income distribution, price controls, the "flight from cash," the effects of high liquidity upon expenditure and output, and the international aspects of inflation—the processes by which it spread, its relations with the foreign exchanges, and the postwar international disequilibrium. In the last chapter he gives an excellent summary of the high points of his detailed analyses and assesses the main processes of inflation in the world as a whole. Finally he states but does not presume to solve the outstanding problems of policy that emerge from these twelve troubled years. The scholarship, statistical skill, and economic insight embodied in this volume deserve high praise. Here is a contribution to both economic history and economic theory. The usefulness of the study is enhanced by twenty-nine diagrams and six statistical tables. My only regret is that the author did not utilize the official Soviet report, *The Economy of the U.S.S.R. during World War II*, by Nikolai A. Voznesensky, and failed to list the specific sources for his diagrams and tables. But the interested reader can follow up various problems raised in this book by turning to the annual or biannual statistical and economic world reports of the League of Nations, United Nations, the Bank for International Settlements, and the International Monetary Fund.

SIDNEY RATNER, *Rutgers University*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

ISOKRATES: SEINE ANSCHAUUNGEN IM LICHT SEINER SCHRIFTEN. By Eino Mikkola. [Annals of the Academy of Science of Finland, Volume LXXXIX.] (Helsinki, the Academy, 1954, pp. 347.) The reputation of Isocrates, "that old man eloquent," has had its vicissitudes. Extravagantly praised as a master stylist, he has been deplored as the tiresomely long-winded expositor of the cliché; he has been damned as a knowing accomplice in the destruction of Greek freedom and hailed as the major prophet of Panhellenic unity. But both critics and admirers have agreed that he was essentially a publicist and rhetorician, by no means a rigorous and strictly disciplined thinker. It is precisely this view which the author of this well-organized and ably written monograph seeks to challenge. For Mikkola maintains that Isocrates' thought was in fact consistent and exhibits a coherent and integrated system of ideas. In short, Isocrates was, as he himself dared to believe, a philosopher. It must be the task of professional students of Greek philosophy to assess the validity of Mikkola's carefully presented argumentation. This reviewer, however, cannot suppress profound doubts. The weakness of this monograph is the author's utter failure to place his subject against the social and historical background of Isocrates' own time. It is surely this, not merely the detailed analysis, however acute, of the "orator's" linguistic usage, which may be expected to throw light on his basic assumptions. For, above all, Isocrates is the conscious voice of the Athenian upper class, a class

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

which, with much justification, had come increasingly to resent the financial burdens placed upon it by the demos and, moreover, to despair of recapturing political control over their city. This attitude explains and motivates Isocrates' constant efforts to solve the problems of his age, not by any feasible suggestions for internal reform (aside from vague references to a supposed "ancestral constitution"), but by his repeated proposal for the forceful conquest of land from the barbarians. And since this program, as he finally came to realize, could not be achieved by any Greek state or combination of states, Isocrates ended by exhorting the king of a semi-Hellenized power to undertake the task, in his naïveté little realizing that this solution must entail the limitation, if not the destruction, of city-state sovereignty and thus make the political future of the Greeks dependent on the policy, abilities, and good will of a foreign monarch! Mikkola would be well advised to read, and to ponder upon, a recently published essay by Professor Norman Baynes ("Isocrates," *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* [London, 1955], VIII, 144-67). These few pages do more to clarify the essential characteristics of Isocrates' thought, or rather of his manner of thinking, than all of Mikkola's meticulously reasoned monograph.

CHARLES EDSON, *University of Wisconsin*

THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER OF MACEDON. By *Pseudo-Callisthenes*. Translated and Edited by *Elizabeth Hazelton Haight*, Professor Emeritus of Latin, Vassar College. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1955, pp. xiii, 159, \$3.00.) Miss Haight, friend and teacher of generations of Vassar students, is also distinguished for books at once scholarly and delightful: an example of the truth of her own remark in a plea for financial support of publication, "the interplay of creative work and teaching produces the most alive and stimulating professors." Several of her books have dealt with ancient fiction and romances, and to the list she now adds this excellent translation, the first in English, of the Greek romance on Alexander. The Alexander Romance began to form not long after the conqueror's death and, passing under the name of Callisthenes, its eighty versions in twenty-four languages circulated from Iceland to Malaya. To medieval Europe and to the Orient at all periods the Alexander of romance has been the Alexander of reality. The Romance is increasingly the subject of monographic studies (most recently, R. Merkelbach's *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans*, Munich, 1954). Miss Haight's introductory chapter, on the other hand, is a graceful summary of the topic. If one cannot fully agree with her estimate of the extent to which the Alexander of the Romance is the Alexander of the historians, we can nevertheless accept her authoritative judgment that this is the most amazing historical romance on record.

C. A. ROBINSON, JR., *Brown University*

ROME BEYOND THE IMPERIAL FRONTIERS. By Sir *Mortimer Wheeler*, Professor of the Archaeology of the Roman Provinces in the University of London. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1955, pp. xii, 192, 38 plates, \$7.50.) A piece of red-glazed pottery dug out from a trench beside the Bay of Bengal in 1945 first impelled Sir Mortimer Wheeler to study Roman contacts with countries beyond the outermost frontiers of the empire. The evidence used in this study is of two kinds: references to trans-frontier trade in Latin, Greek, Indian, and Chinese literary sources and the numerous finds of Roman objects of trade in central and northern Europe as well as those in Asia and Africa. Roman glass, for instance, has been found in Norway, Denmark, India, China, and even Korea; Italian silver and bronze wares appear in Scandinavia, Germany, and India; and red-glazed pottery manufactured first in Italy and later in France and western Germany reached both Poland and eastern India. Last but not least there is the abundant evidence of the coinage; thou-

sands of Roman coins from the time of Augustus onward—gold, silver, and copper—found their way to Germany, Scandinavia, and southern India. The book resulting from the study of this evidence deals with three main areas: central and northern Europe, Africa, and India including Pakistan and Afghanistan. In dealing with the first, the author makes full use of the research conducted by German, Dutch, and Scandinavian archaeologists; in the third area he himself is a recognized authority, having for years supervised archaeological research for the Indian government. All the chapters devoted to these two areas are both interesting and enlightening, the ones on Germany and Scandinavia being especially valuable to students both of the late Roman Empire and of medieval Europe. The excellence of the German and Indian chapters is not maintained in the African section, where Sir Mortimer limits himself to one recently excavated area in northern Fezzan, to that mysterious monument of Tin Hinan in southern Algeria, and to the discovery of a few copper coins at Port Durnford in East Africa. The most striking defect in the book as a whole is the absence of a chapter on South Russia, about which Soviet archaeologists have within recent years been publishing a considerable amount of important research. The most important question arising from this study concerns the impact which Roman commercial adventure made upon the peoples beyond the imperial frontiers. Upon their economic life almost none. Upon their cultural life just as little as the introduction of Western methods of warfare and industrial production has had in our time upon the cultural and spiritual life of the Japanese. Only in northwestern India and Afghanistan was there any cultural meeting between East and West as a by-product of Roman commerce and that was the Romanization of Buddhist art in the early half of the second century A.D. Upon the Germans the most important effect of Roman commercial contacts was to lure the tribal chieftains of the North on the path of conquest in search of the warmth, elegance, and splendor of the Mediterranean world. The migrations of the German tribesmen thereby helped to bend the future course of European history.

CEDRIC YEO, *Memphis State College*

IL CONFINE NORD-ORIENTALE DELL'ITALIA ROMANA: RICERCHE STORICO-TOPOGRAFICHE. By *Attilio Degrassi*. [Dissertationes Bernenses: Historiam orbis antiqui nascentisque medii aevi elucubrant, Ser. I, fasc. 6.] (Bern, A. Francke, 1954, pp. 189, cloth 27.50, paper 23.50 fr. s.) This is an example of highly specialized research rarely undertaken in this country except by candidates for the Ph.D. and seldom published even by our university presses, which, like most members of the academic community, cannot afford many luxuries. Yet it is precisely from such small building stones that the structure of ancient history has to be erected. Degrassi, whose *I fasti consolari* (Rome, 1952) placed ancient historians in his debt, has brought an exacting scholarship and a command of widely scattered literary, archaeological, and epigraphical sources to the present task, which he describes accurately as a historical-topographical investigation. He traces the progressive expansion of the northeastern frontiers of Italy from Caesar's time through the imperial period, suggests reasons for that expansion, fixes the shifting frontier lines, and studies the origin and development of the Roman centers in the area. Although the region with which Degrassi is concerned is Istria, including the zones A and B of the Trieste controversy of our times, this is not history conceived as present politics. The major conclusion that emerges, the ancient Italian character of this hotly disputed area, is presented with abundant evidence and without polemic or special pleading. The evidence is mainly contemporary, but the author's use of medieval diocesan records illustrates the continuity of the Roman tradition. Since the sources are generally quoted *in extenso*, the reader may make his own analysis of the evidence. Indeed,

Degrassi has exposed all the *disiecti membra* of scholarship to view, and we must sometimes pick our own way through the dry bones. More serious is Degrassi's failure to examine in more than cursory fashion the process of Romanization in the northeast. So strictly has he confined himself to topographical details and administrative matters that economic history, surely an important aspect of Roman culture, is ignored. Within the narrow limits of his treatment, however, Degrassi's sound judgment and keen criticism of the sources are applied to many intricate problems, notably in his discussion (pp. 131-51) of the *Alpium vallum*, the frontier defensive works of the Julian Alps. A map, several plates, and excellent indexes add substantially to the utility of a monograph which is a credit to the admirable series in which it is published.

SOLOMON KATZ, *University of Washington*

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

SIX MEDIEVAL MEN AND WOMEN. By H. S. Bennett. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1955, pp. x, 177, \$2.75.) Professor Bennett tells us that his little book is not intended for the professional historian, who has, apparently, abandoned human beings, but for "that large body of readers with historical curiosity, to whom the spectacle of men and women 'doing things' can never be without interest" (p. ix). The historian who has not become so mechanized, dehumanized, and depersonalized as to want his history, together with his art, abstract will not, despite Professor Bennett's warnings, stay away from these lectures (given at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and the University of Chicago). He will remind himself of Professor Bennett's other books (*Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century*, *Life on the English Manor, 1150-1400*, *The Pastons and Their England*). He may remember that day in class when the students were especially absorbed by having read to them the introductory chapter of *Life on the English Manor*, where Professor Bennett collects around the yearly routine of an individual peasant the rest of the material of his book. Richard Bradwater, the sixth of these portraits, a somewhat obstreperous peasant on the manor of Tooting-Bec, is reminiscent of this introduction. The rest are men and women from the late fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century: Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, Sir John Fastolf, Thomas Hoccleve, Margaret Paston, and Margery Kempe, a varied and colorful assortment. Surely there would be few historians and students who would not enjoy, if not so much the duke, and Sir John,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

then Chaucer's friend Hoccleve, who relieved his clerkship in the office of the privy seal with "twenty years of eating and drinking extravagantly," Margaret, the efficient, capable, and loyal wife who stayed at home to manage the estate, and Margery, the extravagant mystic, who could run a brewery if necessary but preferred to leave her husband and to go about the world on pilgrimage, upbraiding the clergy for their faults and making life difficult for everybody, including herself. Professor Bennett puts his materials together expertly and sympathetically.

EDGAR N. JOHNSON, *University of Nebraska*

STUDIEN ZUM INVESTITURPROBLEM IN FRANKREICH: PAPSTTUM, KÖNIGTUM UND EPISKOPAT IM ZEITALTER DER GREGORIANISCHEN KIRCHENREFORM (1049-1119). By *Alfons Becker*. [Schriften der Universität des Saarlandes.] (Saarbrücken, West-Ost-Verlag, 1955, pp. 262, 1.150 ffrs.) In this doctoral dissertation Alfons Becker traces the relations of the reforming popes with the weak Capetian monarchy from Leo IX's Council of Rheims in 1049 to the council convened in the same city by Calixtus II in 1119. He examines especially the many controversies which arose over the filling of vacancies in episcopal sees dependent upon the king, and shows how the Capetians, without a formal Concordat, gradually accommodated their procedures in the institution of bishops to the ideas of the reformers. The role of Ivo of Chartres in this transformation is heavily stressed. By the end of the period canonical election had become the rule, the feudal oath, Becker maintains, had become purely an oath of loyalty (*fidelitas*), and feudal investiture had been transformed into the granting of regalia (*concessio*). Somewhat later consecration was made to follow immediately upon election. In general the dissertation follows paths beaten by Fliche and others. The reader will find in it little that is original or new. Despite this fact Becker has produced a useful summary of a somewhat neglected phase of the reform movement. He has made a thorough study of the printed sources and he is well abreast of the recent Continental literature. He appears, however, less familiar with English and American research in the field. In his bibliography one misses especially George H. Williams' *The Norman Anonymous of 1100 A.D.* (1951). The workmanship is careful and conscientious. Factual or typographical errors are few. The type is so small that to read the author's notes one needs a good magnifying glass. It is gratifying to find in this dissertation from the University of the Saarland many of the qualities which distinguished German historical scholarship before the world wars.

JOHN R. WILLIAMS, *Dartmouth College*

SELECTED LETTERS OF POPE INNOCENT III CONCERNING ENGLAND (1198-1216). Edited by *C. R. Cheney*, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester, and *W. H. Semple*, Hulme Professor of Latin in the University of Manchester. (London, Thomas Nelson and Sons; New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. xliii, 248, \$4.80.) Professors Cheney and Semple have produced a book of rare quality. Professor Cheney has a thorough knowledge of thirteenth-century ecclesiastical institutions and is a master of clear, concise exposition. His introduction should be read by every student who plans to use papal letters as source material. His texts are carefully edited and adequately supplied with notes. Professor Semple's achievement is perhaps harder to appreciate. Only one who has himself tried to do so can fully realize the difficulty of translating the papal letters of this period into effective English prose. The letters have been selected primarily from the point of view of ecclesiastical history. They represent the various types of letters issued by the chancery of Innocent III and the range of affairs covered by them. They show clearly the fundamental ideas and policy of this great pope. For this purpose the selec-

tion is admirable. It is, however, important for the student of English history to remember that while this collection contains the most important letters dealing with the baronial revolt and Magna Carta, it does not supply an adequate picture of the relations between Innocent III and King John and his government. The book contains a small sheet of *errata*. To it should be added Warin for William Fitz Gerald on page 201. And in footnote no. 1 on page 79 Peter des Roches should be described as treasurer of St. Hilaire of Poitiers. SIDNEY PAINTER, *Johns Hopkins University*

JOAN MARGARIT I PAU, CARDINAL-BISHOP OF GERONA: A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY. By *Robert B. Tate*, Lecturer in Spanish in the Queen's University, Belfast. [Publications of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Manchester, No. 6.] (Manchester, Manchester University Press; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York, 1955, pp. xi, 155, \$3.75.) Joan Margarit i Pau (1421?-1484), who figures at some length among Vespasiano da Bisticci's *uomini illustri* as the cardinal of Gerona, is an interesting and significant figure. As a humanist, historian, and political theorist he linked Italy and Catalonia and helped prepare the Spanish Renaissance. As bishop of Gerona and warden of the Empordà, royal chancellor, and envoy of Aragon in Italy, he helped preserve the authority of the crown in the civil wars of John II's reign and contributed to building the strong monarchy of Ferdinand. Few of his contemporaries touched the history of Aragon at more, or at more important, points. Mr. Tate's biographical study enlarges our knowledge of Margarit and clarifies a number of matters previously obscure. It is most valuable for Margarit's career in Gerona, for which it makes fresh and conscientious use of the local archives, as well as of those of Barcelona, and it prints in appendixes some illuminating documents. It is, therefore, the more regrettable that considerations of space, which impose such severe limitations on scholarly publication these days, have apparently obliged such rigorous condensation of the narrative that it will be difficult for any but the specialist to follow some parts of it. Margarit's principal writings are criticized briefly, but one misses any bibliography of manuscripts and printed editions. The retention in the text of big chunks of untranslated Latin, Spanish, and Catalan seems a dubious merit, especially since the practice is inconsistent, and the selections quoted usually have no significance or flavor beyond the reach of any competent translator.

GARRETT MATTINGLY, *Columbia University*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson¹

THE BRITISH WORKING CLASS READER, 1790-1848: LITERACY AND SOCIAL TENSION. By R. K. Webb. (London, George Allen and Unwin; New York, Columbia University Press, 1955, pp. 192, \$3.00.) Few events in early nineteenth-century England were more momentous than the growth of a powerful working class. Concentrated in squalid cities, resentful of injustices, and increasingly literate, they agitated, at first threatening social chaos, finally bringing into being a working democracy. Historians, above all the Hammonds, the Webbs, and the Coles, have described their distress, and told of their efforts, by riots, chartist petitions, and trade unions, to redress these wrongs. But few have asked how many of the working class could read, what they did read, and how the ruling classes met the challenge of their literacy. R. K. Webb, of the faculty of history of Columbia University, in his *The British Working Class Reader* asks these questions and answers them with care and insight. Only one fourth to one third of the working class in the 1840's, Webb estimates, were totally illiterate. The evidence, he admits, is meager and often contradictory; but by discounting alarmist reports of illiteracy (in which the author perhaps unjustly includes those of the education inspectors) and by weighing every available clue, Webb argues that most of the working classes could read and that what they read was usually cheap fiction, sensational newspapers, and inflammatory broadsides. This fact alarmed the ruling class. The more frightened stoutly argued against further working-class education; others, like Hannah More, would keep them docile with religious teachings. The new, self-confident middle class, with an un-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

bounded faith in education and useful knowledge, tried, as Webb says, "to make them over in their own image," and to teach them, in tales by Harriet Martineau and sermons by Lord Brougham, "the creed of political economy." The middle class failed in this attempt. "They were doomed," says Webb, "from the outset"; doomed by books too costly, by arguments too platitudinous, by a style too elaborate, and above all by an inability to understand the interests and passions of the workers. Webb's analysis of this failure is brilliant, and it constitutes the main theme of his work. Unfortunately it crowds out a full examination of that cheaper more sensational literature which the workers actually read. In his chapter on the poor-law agitation Webb examines in detail middle-class publications which went largely unread by the agitators and only barely mentions the vituperations of Oastler, Stephens, and O'Connor, which the poor-law inspectors claimed inspired the agitation. It is hoped that in his future studies in this interesting field the author will deal with this important mass of literature and give us a work equally distinguished by wide scholarship, penetrating analyses, and excellence of style. DAVID ROBERTS, *University of Washington*

JOURNAL OF JAN VAN RIEBEECK. In Three Volumes. Edited and with an Introduction and Footnotes by *H. B. Thom*, Professor of History, University of Stellenbosch. Volume I, 1651-1655. Translated from the Original Dutch by *W. P. L. Van Zyl*. Volume II, 1656-1658. Translated by *J. Smuts*. (Cape Town, A. A. Balkema for the Van Riebeeck Society, 1952, 1954, pp. xlv, 395; xviii, 406, £5 the set.) The happy decision by the council of the Van Riebeeck Society to commemorate the tercentenary of the landing of Jan Van Riebeeck at the Cape of Good Hope with a new and complete edition of the Cape *Daghregister* for the years of his administration has now resulted in one volume in the original Dutch and these two in English. Eventually there will be three in each language, but the English translation will have greater utility than the seventeenth-century Nederlands original. Dr. H. B. Thom and a very able staff have produced an excellent piece of work based upon the correlated Cape and Hague copies. Very careful translation of this archaic Nederlands version combined with meticulous editorial work has resulted in a delightful style and made available invaluable material on early South African history. Dr. Thom's contribution of the introduction would be valuable if only for its restatement of the often-forgotten fact that Van Riebeeck himself did not keep the diary, which was the responsibility of clerks. The diary reveals that there is nothing new under the South African sun. The Cape southeaster is still wearying, although the heavy forests and wild game behind Table Mountain (I, 60) have largely disappeared. Harry, the Hottentot "who speaks English," flits through the pages, simultaneously serving and deceiving company officials. Van Riebeeck worries about foreign ships in Table Bay, although he treats most of them well. He longs for Chinese laborers as fervently as Lord Milner (I, 33). There is cattle-stealing by and scuffling with natives. Above all, Van Riebeeck has the problem of indentured servants, who insist upon freedom and land—and get both (e.g., II, 90). The excellence of these first two volumes produces impatience for the third, which is scheduled to appear sometime in 1956.

COLIN RHYS LOVELL, *University of Southern California*

IN SEARCH OF THE MAGNETIC NORTH: A SOLDIER-SURVEYOR'S LETTERS FROM THE NORTH-WEST, 1843-1844. By *John Henry Lefroy*. Edited by *George F. G. Stanley*. (Toronto, Macmillan Company of Canada; New York, Macmillan, 1955, pp. xxviii, 171, \$4.25.) Since 1938 it has been possible to imagine the extent of our loss in the destruction in 1846 of Sir Henry Lefroy's three manuscript diaries kept on a trip in 1843-1844 to the vicinity of Great Bear Lake. In the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada for 1938 appeared "Sir Henry Lefroy's Journey to the

North-West in 1843-4," edited by W. S. Wallace. Actually, these pages were reprints of that part of Lefroy's extremely rare *Autobiography*, which related the story of his trip to the Arctic regions. It was based largely on the same letters that make up the present volume, interspersed here and there with very significant comments by Lefroy. Lefroy was a young artillery subaltern in 1843, when he was employed to make his magnetic survey in the far northern territories of the Hudson's Bay Company. With one assistant and the help of company employees in many distant forts, Lefroy journeyed from Montreal to Fort William and on to Lake Winnipeg and the Mackenzie River country along the well-traveled route of the voyageurs. He himself proved an indefatigable voyageur, one who could endure the dangers and vicissitudes of life afloat, on the snowshoe trail, in log forts, and in carioles, and still thrill to the beauties of pine and ice, northern lights, the expertness of canoemen in foaming rapids, the earnest appeals of red men for missionaries and teachers, and the independent life of traders and trappers. A few misreadings occur, but, for the most part, the editor has done a superb job of transcribing Lefroy's letters. The end-paper maps are especially useful. Because of a misreading of a letter heading, Pic Fort does not appear near Michipicoten on the Lake Superior map. On page 122 the editor gives the name as "Pie Fort," which, of course, he could not find on any map of the lake. The Pic River empties from the north into the great lake not far from the very modern pulpwood village of Marathon, on the eastern shore. A well-known trading fort existed there for many years. Its remains are still visible.

GRACE LEE NUTE, *Minnesota Historical Society*

DUFFERIN-CARNARVON CORRESPONDENCE, 1874-1878. Edited by C. W. de Kiewiet, President of the University of Rochester, and F. H. Underhill, Professor of History at the University of Toronto. [The Publications of the Champlain Society, XXXIII.] (Toronto, the Society, 1955, pp. lvi, 442, xvi.) Lord Dufferin was Canada's governor general during six important years, 1872-1878. For four of these, 1874-1878, Lord Carnarvon was colonial secretary in the Disraeli ministry. The two men were close personal friends, exchanging a stream of frank, personal letters. This correspondence, which is here published, may be compared with the similar flood of letters that had passed, a generation before, between Elgin and Grey, when these two friends had held the same positions. The text of the letters is prefaced by the fifty-five pages of a clearly written introduction, which gives the background, explains the main topics, and lists the major biographical and bibliographical references. It may be inferred that this is mainly the work of Professor Underhill, who has made himself the authority on the period and whose biography of the constitutional giant of the day, Edward Blake, is impatiently expected. The letters, comprising 390 pages of text, are followed by four appendixes. Here are printed two essays on the Mackenzie administration in Canada and the Disraeli administration in Great Britain, letters between Mackenzie and Blake on the Pacific railway (the first Canadian transcontinental), and a series of biographical notes. There is also a compendious index. The chief topics dealt with in the letters themselves are, inevitably, the issues arising out of the Red River "rebellion" of 1870, the settlement with British Columbia, "reciprocity" with the United States and the constitutional issues raised by Edward Blake. In format and in the standard of its editing, the volume is fully equal to its predecessors in the sumptuous series published by the Champlain Society over the past half century.

A. R. M. LOWER, *University of Wisconsin*

THE COLONIAL OFFICE AND CANADA, 1867-1887. By David M. L. Farr. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1955, pp. xii, 362, \$5.50.) This is a work for the specialist in Canadian history or in the constitutional history of the British Em-

pire. It covers the period from the birth of the first dominion, when the evolution of dominion status began, to the meeting of the first Colonial Conference, which adumbrated the transformation from empire to commonwealth. In the Britain of 1867 it was commonly supposed that the empire was inevitably approaching dissolution and that Canada would lead the procession out of the fold. By 1887 British faith in the survival of the empire was stronger than it had ever been; and during these twenty years Canadian nationalism, which was largely a reaction against American imperialism otherwise known as Manifest Destiny, blazed the trail to a new conception of intra-imperial relations. Mr. Farr has not attempted a comprehensive treatment of all aspects of these relations but has confined himself to a group of important problems that had not been adequately examined. His study of these is thoroughly documented from manuscript as well as printed sources, and it is enlightening. Here we see the Colonial Office so anxious to accommodate Canadian national aspirations within the empire that it yielded to them when it was free to do so and it championed them when they impinged upon other governmental departments which had not adjusted their thinking to the growing independence of Canada. Thus the Colonial Office abandoned the role of arbiter between the Dominion and the provinces over the exercise of the federal government's constitutional right to veto provincial legislation, the Treasury gave up the attempt to dictate the Canadian management of imperially guaranteed Canadian loans, the chancellor made concessions on Canadian appeals to the Privy Council, the Board of Trade was stopped from objecting to Canadian commercial policy, the Foreign Office gave a reluctant consent to Canadian negotiation of commercial treaties, and Canada was allowed to establish in London the quasi-diplomatic office of high commissioner. The writing is generally good, though the purist may wince over an occasional "different than" and the more frequent slovenly use of the word "significant." The typographical errors are few, but it is regrettable that the publisher has resorted to the lithoprint method in producing this book.

A. L. BURT, *University of Minnesota*

BRITAIN IN MALTA. Volume I, CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF MALTA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Volume II, ITALIAN INFLUENCE ON BRITISH POLICY IN MALTA, 1899-1903. By *Harrison Smith*. (Valetta, Malta, Progress Press, 1953, pp. xviii, 204, £1 6s.6d.) Malta, a fortress-island of great antiquity and, during the Second World War, of heroic renown, has presented many complicated problems to an expanded British colonial policy in the postwar years. Malta's present population of over 300,000 crowd the island's 122 square miles; less than one third of its inhabitants are gainfully employed; and most of its needs, even of food stuffs, are imported. Consequently, encouragement of and assistance to emigrants constitute one of the basic policies of its government. In recent years Malta has experienced much constitutional progress, and letters-patent of 1947 established self-government. Recent developments have raised new issues: in June, 1955, a Maltese delegation arrived in London to open discussion for an enhanced status within the Commonwealth, and in July Prime Minister Eden stated that Great Britain would consider admitting Maltese to the English parliament. If effected, Malta would have a constitutional position comparable to that of Northern Ireland. Dr. Harrison Smith's *Britain in Malta* covers widely separated areas, and the two volumes have widely separated sponsors. Volume I, *Constitutional Development of Malta in the Nineteenth Century*, was originally a Ph.D. thesis at Georgetown University, Washington D.C.; Volume II, *Italian Influence on British Policy in Malta, 1899-1903*, a thesis at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland). These volumes, printed in Malta, are detailed examinations of their respective but limited topics. Both have had the advantage of

considerable research; and the principal sources have been examined, including local archives and numerous Italian sources. Bibliographies are rather complete, listing pertinent documentary sources, and in general are satisfactory, although merely uncritical, listings. Volume II carries a thirty-page appendix citing material gleaned from Italian diplomatic and consular correspondence in the government's archives in Rome. One desiring the larger view will still have to look elsewhere, though these are valuable additions to the rapidly growing literature on the history of Malta.

JAMES G. ALLEN, *University of Colorado*

AUSTRALIA: A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY. Edited by *Gordon Greenwood*. (Sydney, Angus and Robertson; New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1955, pp. xiii, 445, \$7.50.) In this volume, six well-known Australian scholars have co-operated to produce a history of Australia, from the convict settlement to the present day, when the nation has grown into "adulthood" and is becoming very conscious of itself. The story is impressive. One wonders why so many Australian intellectuals have a feeling of inferiority about their country. There is, of course, room for further development. There are shortcomings in Australian society. But considering the vastness of the continent, the limits of its resources, and the small number of inhabitants, the material, social, and, lately, cultural progress of the country has been remarkable. It involved social and ideological struggles, but these, instead of disintegrating the community, have helped to form it and give it its peculiarly Australian character. The book brings all this out very well. It is written in an excellent style and lacks the frequent faults of symposiums. It is interesting reading as history and a good guide to an understanding of present-day Australia, a country rapidly forging ahead to become "a foremost power in the Pacific." In a book of this kind, covering a wide span of time and events, there is always room for argument whether the choice among available materials and data has been the most happy one. The party system, the federation movement, foreign policy, the daily life of the average Australian receive relatively little attention. The early chapters are the most solid, due, presumably, to the fact that so much more research has been done on the period up to 1850 than on the subsequent years. The last chapter, by Professor Partridge, covering the crucial years 1929-1950 is a masterly combination of condensing and giving the spirit of the times. The intention of the authors was evidently not to give a full factual account of Australian developments. They were interested in analysis and interpretation and in providing an impression of the sweep of Australian history and its meaning. They have succeeded very well. While not overlooking the seamier side of things, they tend to stress their more pleasant aspects and to give them an optimistic interpretation. In this, they reflect the spirit which motivates the Australian people today.

WERNER LEVI, *University of Minnesota*

WAR ECONOMY, 1939-1942. By *S. J. Butlin*. [Australia in the War of 1939-1945, Series 4 (Civil), Volume III.] (Canberra, Australian War Memorial; distrib. by Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1955, pp. xvii, 516, 25s.) This is the first of two volumes on war economy and the seventh to appear in the twenty-two-volume series "Australia in the War of 1939-1945." The author, professor of economics at Sydney University, is a first-rate scholar. He traces in detail the formative stages of the war economy, up to the beginning of 1942, but treats separately the elements of economic organization—price control, public finance, shipping, primary production, foreign trade, manpower, secondary industry, etc. Only toward the end does he draw the strands together and show how and why a closely integrated war economy developed after Pearl Harbor. This treatment is justified because sectional policies de-

veloped with small relation to what was happening elsewhere. The author had unrestricted access to cabinet documents. He bewails the deficiencies of wartime statistics in some cases, especially for manpower, but reveals the fact that the acute shortage of skilled workers was due to weaknesses in the utilization of manpower. Implicit throughout the book is Australia's feeling of remoteness from the heat of battle and her consequent lack of urgency, the importance of party politics (i.e., Labor's opposition to the manpower census of 1939), the confusion when allocating problems, and the jealousies between states and the federal government. It was the Japanese threat that "swept away the barriers and shattered the resistances and reservations to a total war economy" (p. 514). The author has drawn generally sound conclusions from his material. The illustrations include twenty-one excellent cartoons, and there are many fine statistical charts scattered throughout. The whole work is intelligible to the nonspecialist in theoretical economics.

SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH, *Rutgers University*

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FRANCE

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FOUR STUDIES IN FRENCH ROMANTIC HISTORICAL WRITING. By *Friedrich Engel-Janosi*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXI (1953), No. 2.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1955, pp. 158, xii, \$2.50.) Professor Engel-Janosi introduces this collection of essays on Chateaubriand, Prosper de Barante, Augustin Thierry, and Tocqueville with a brief survey of French historiography from Bossuet through de Maistre. Taking the characteristics that are usually associated with eighteenth-century historiography as his starting point, the author attempts to discover in what respects his four "romantic historians" abandoned the assumptions of their predecessors, but he is also concerned with showing to what extent some of the presuppositions of the *philosophes* persisted. Whoever is seeking a general discussion or definition of French historiography during the romantic era will be disappointed with this work. For the author states at the outset that "no clear-cut, systematic definition of *French Romanticism* forms the basis of these studies," and he makes no attempt to pull his findings on the four figures discussed into a concluding synthesis on romantic historical writing in France. Despite occasional references within a given study to figures mentioned in the other three, the essays remain essentially autonomous. In themselves, the articles are of considerable interest. The evolution of Chateaubriand's historical outlook from the *Essai historique sur les révolutions anciennes et modernes*, published in 1797, to the *Etudes historiques*, which appeared in 1831, is skillfully handled by the author as he shows, for example, how a cyclical view of history in the earlier period gives way to a realization of the uniqueness of each historical epoch and finally, in his later years, to a growing belief in human progress. In like manner he traces the intellectual de-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

velopment of Barante and Thierry, resorting often to relatively minor works or articles to discover their changing historical views. The final essay consists of a discussion of some hitherto unpublished Tocqueville material from the Hutzler Collection at Johns Hopkins which the author has reproduced in an appendix to this work. Two letters to Mill, which concern Tocqueville's contributions to the *London and Westminster Review*, contain some illuminating comparisons of English and French "democrats," while the comment on Bulwer's work gives Tocqueville an opportunity to point out the pitfalls besetting any critic of French society. The author justifies the inclusion of Tocqueville in a work on French romantic historical writing on the grounds that one finds certain "trends" in his thought which make him a "neighbor to the group called 'romantic,'" but the relevance of this particular essay to the author's general theme remains somewhat obscure. In his foreword Professor Engel-Janosi hints that he may make Michelet the subject of a future essay since he is the "French historian most properly qualified as a Romantic." One can only express the hope that such a study may form part of a larger synthesis which the author has not chosen to provide in these essays.

CHARLES BREUNIG, *Lawrence College*

THE HISTORICAL THOUGHT OF FRANÇOIS GUIZOT. By Sister Mary Consolata O'Connor. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1955, pp. x, 98, \$1.25.) Whether it is the "crisis in our time," a mounting interest in the history of ideas, or a vogue in research, historiography gains more and more attention. In addition to pontifical pronouncements and variously suggestive essays there come studies of individual historians, all useful and some distinguished. This little volume seeks to determine Guizot's "attitude toward some of the perennial problems of the historian, as well as toward problems of special interest to French historians." So far as it goes the study is useful, and the author fulfills her purpose. She does not, however, locate Guizot's place in the history of thought, even though she does apprehend his share in shaping the nationalistic-romantic outlook. She might profitably have gone much farther. Guizot was extremely popular in England, and no doubt elsewhere. On the narrower historiographical side he awoke Englishmen to the value and necessity of synthesis, both as a clue to meaning and as a source of further research. In a larger sense he taught them the relevance of their own constitutional struggles to the contemporary scene. If it be an exaggeration to assert that without Guizot there could have been no Macaulay, it is not too much to say that Guizot and other French historians had the largest share in creating an environment where English national historians could flourish and find readers. CHARLES F. MULLETT, *University of Missouri*

POMPONNE'S "RELATION DE MON AMBASSADE EN HOLLANDE," 1669-1671. Edited by Herbert H. Rowen. [Werken, Historisch Genootschap, 4^e Serie, No. 2.] (Utrecht, Kemink en Zoon, 1955, pp. 178.) The original manuscript for this *Relation de mon ambassade en Hollande 1669-1671* is to be found in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal at Paris. It is part of a larger collection of Pomponne's writings assembled by Voyer d'Argenson in the mid-eighteenth century. Although its existence as well as the substance of its contents has long been known to scholars, only a few writers have actually used this document. The present edition is therefore very welcome, for it makes it available to all. As the title indicates, it is a discussion of Pomponne's role as ambassador, but it is more than that, since he allowed himself the freedom to comment on men and affairs of the period. He obviously intended it to refresh his own memory, as a guide for his friends, and perhaps for future publication. Professor Rowen is to be congratulated on this work. His notes are informative and careful; his presentation is exact. The edition will prove useful both to

graduate students and to mature scholars. The introduction is an excellent little monograph on Pomponne's role as ambassador to Louis XIV. It is well written and carefully documented. Many of us will wait eagerly for more works on Pomponne from Professor Rowen's pen.

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The following French learned journals have recently published cumulative indexes: *Bulletin trimestriel de la Société des sciences, littérature, et arts de Bayonne* (1931-55), July, 1955; *Mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente* (1901-50), 1953; *Société d'études historiques, scientifiques, et littéraires des Hautes-Alpes* (1912-53), 1953; *Société d'émulation du Jura* (1950-54), 1954; *Miroir de l'histoire* (nos. 1-59, 1950-54), 1954; *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique de Langres* (1934-54), September, 1955; *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de Nantes et de la Loire-Inférieure* (1934-50), 1951; *Bulletin de la Société des sciences, lettres, et arts de Pau* (1841-43, 1871-1939), 3d series, XV, 1954.

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

William C. Kinsey¹

FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1816-30: A STUDY OF THE FIRST BENELUX. By H. R. C. Wright. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History.] (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1955, pp. xi, 251, \$6.00.) This recent addition to the "Cambridge Studies in Economic History" is scholarly, immensely learned, and marvelously dull. Certainly it should not be allowed to fall into the hands of novices in our profession. The book indeed seems to be the end product of a ruthless process of condensation applied to an original manuscript three or four times the present bulk. Printing costs and reading time have undoubtedly been cut. But let the student of history be warned: he should approach the book with a fresh mind, a firm determination, and a mental concentration well-nigh perfect. He should be warned also that he is given much more than the title promises. Those fifteen years from 1816 to 1830 are indeed covered and covered satisfactorily but, if the statistical tables and the inadequate index are not counted, nearly half the book is devoted to a survey of the period before 1816. A more exact title would be "An Examination of Economic Policy in the Low Countries, 1730-1830." A subtitle might add "With Special Stress on the Northern Netherlands" for the Dutch are favored. The Dutch situation before 1816 is treated in three substantial chapters; the Belgian background is allotted a scant ten pages. The reader like the author is thus far better prepared to understand the Dutch side of the ensuing controversies than he is that of the Belgians. Some of the statistical tables might well have been omitted to leave room for a critical bibliography. PAUL D. EVANS, *University of Vermont*

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NORTHERN EUROPE

Oscar J. Falnes¹

SUOMEN TAPULIKAUPUNKIEN VALTAPORVARISTO JA SEN KAUPANKÄYNTIMENETELMÄT 1600-LUVON ALKUPUOLELLA [Das Patriziat der finnischen Stapelstädte und seine Handelsverkehrsmethoden im frühen 17. Jahrhundert]. By *Sylvia Möller*. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, XLII.] (Helsinki, Finnish Historical Society, 1954, pp. 336.) The objective of her study is, as Miss Möller indicates in its preface, "to describe from the perspective of social and cultural history the make-up and methods of the leading merchant class in Finland's staple towns" (p. 4)—Turku, Viipuri, Porvoo, and Helsinki. She has fixed its chronological limits between 1614, when the first kingdom-wide regulation of commerce was effected, and 1648, when the granting of a monopoly in the pitch-tar trade ushered in a new phase in the country's economic history. The study is based largely on unpublished court records, supplemented by the extensive use of other archival sources in Finland and Sweden. The bibliography of published materials is adequate. The author, of course, is no newcomer to this period; she has previously published a number of monographs on various aspects of seventeenth-century economic history, among them a study of an influential Finnish merchant, F. A. Stockman. The present volume begins with a concise yet satisfactory introduction to the problem and its historical setting. The remaining five chapters deal with the following themes: the leading merchants as a social class; education and training; practices followed in foreign and domestic trade; the financing of commerce. Miss Möller has succeeded in presenting a richly detailed, well-organized, and interesting account. In the main the story of Finland's early seventeenth-century merchants follows the patterns earlier manifested in other European regions, notably northern Germany. A thirteen-page German language abstract is included.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

BISMARCKS VERANTWORTLICHKEIT. By Leonhard von Muralt. [Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Band XX.] (Göttingen, Musterschmidt, 1955,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

pp. 234, DM 16.80.) A great Bismarck renaissance is on in Germany. The revisionism that followed 1945 is all but over: Eyck and Lehmann have had their day; Rothfels, Schüssler, and the rest are back in fashion. Muralt's book is an important example of the new trend. Though a Swiss himself and professor of history at Zurich, Muralt is intellectually very close to the conservative German historians; several chapters of his book in fact were first delivered as papers before various German historical societies or university seminars. Muralt's chief theme is "Bismarck: The Responsible, Christian Statesman." Muralt admits that Bismarck rejected the idea of parliamentary responsibility; but, he argues, Bismarck always felt a far greater sense of personal responsibility—to God. Now there is no question that Bismarck always invoked the Deity (as Muralt shows in tedious detail) or that he often read in the Holy Script. Is not the real issue however (as Erich Eyck has put it) "whether Bismarck was at any time of his life influenced in his private or political actions by Christian teaching or, indeed, by any religious principles"? And of that one finds little convincing proof in Muralt's book. The most interesting and important part of Muralt's book is his essay on Bismarck's ideas and actions at the time of the Crimean War. Muralt's point here (based on a thorough re-examination of Bismarck's letters and diplomatic dispatches) is that Bismarck may, as early as 1854, have conceived of the idea of "Politik der europäischen Mitte" that he was to follow later on, as chancellor. The main object of this policy was to guard the security and independence of German central Europe against both East and West (Russia and France) while making Germany and Austria the decisive states in the European balance of power. The way to achieve this policy was by the close co-operation of Germany and Austria and Germany and Russia (so as to prevent any possible Austro-Russian conflict that might threaten central Europe)—in short, the diplomatic structure later embodied in the Dual Alliance and Reinsurance Treaty. Pursuance of this "Politik der europäischen Mitte," Muralt argues, made Bismarck Metternich's true heir and successor. Perhaps so; but like Metternich, Bismarck found himself unable to deal effectively with the great domestic problems besetting Germany; and it was, after all, the political dead end Bismarck had reached at home that led, as much as anything else, to his dismissal in 1890. Is it possible then to assess Bismarck's "responsibility" without taking into account his great domestic failures—which Muralt hardly so much as mentions?

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ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*¹

JACOPO ACONCIO. By Charles Donald O'Malley. Translated by Delio Cantimori, [Uomini e Dottrine, 2.] (Rome, Storia e Letteratura, 1955, pp. xxv, 215.) Jacopo Aconcio, an Italian from the Trentino who settled in England and attained citizenship there in 1561, was a military engineer, a protagonist of the inductive method in science, a religious refugee rated by some a Socinian, and the author of one of the most influential treatises on the subject of religious freedom. In each of these aspects he is studied in the volume before us, a timely analysis and estimate of a figure now rated in the forefront of the advocates of moderation. Biographical data are still meager. There is no hint of the circumstances which impelled him to leave his home, no indication of a dramatic crisis in his life, and no explanation of his prestige in engineering. He was not one of those Renaissance Italians, evidently, who liked to relate their adventures. He studied jurisprudence, a subject sometimes held to promote defection from orthodoxy, and probably admired the walls and bastions of the castle of Trent; but by occupation he was a notary. He steps into history in the decade preceding the last sessions of the Council, years of accelerated persecution from the side of Rome and of unpleasant friction in the centers where religious refugees gathered. Dr. O'Malley is able to add little to the picture. He favors the date 1520 as a more plausible date of Aconcio's birth than the traditional 1492 and finds it possible that the autograph copy of the dialogue in which "Silvio" (Aconcio) and "Muzio" (King Maximilian) discuss the nature of Lutheran propaganda was written between 1551 and 1555. Brief contact at Zurich and Basel with Curio and Castello helps to explain the analogies between the thought of Aconcio and theirs. Aconcio's best-known work is his *Strategemata Satanae* (Wiles—or Ruses—of Satan), in which he credits the Devil with inciting persecution. Dr. O'Malley remarks that the writer is applying the principles of his earlier work on scientific method from the field of logic to that of religion (p. 127), as indeed he had applied them earlier to his book on how to read history (p. 179). He was spurred to writing it by the outbreak of the religious wars in France and is the first since Marsiglio of Padua, thinks Dr. O'Malley, to seek to use the civil power as the guarantor of tolerance (p. 161); the magistracy is not to interfere in matters of belief but only as a bar to controversy. Aconcio aligns himself with those who were stressing the necessity of differentiating

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

in the matter of dogma between those beliefs which are necessary to salvation and those which are not; it is the latter which stir up controversy. Like Castelli, he urges the ineffectiveness of persecution (p. 166), but, unlike Castelli, he had a low opinion of human nature. The works of Aconcio are analyzed in the book here reviewed with copious extracts (in the original Latin), and more space is given to the *Strategemata* than the others, which are grouped in two chapters, one on the publications of 1558 and one on the later writings. Dr. O'Malley examines minutely printed and manuscript sources and offers an extensive list of auxiliary books and periodical articles which brings conviction that he left no leaf unturned which might contribute to his purpose. The formidable task of compiling an index has been left unfulfilled.

FREDERIC C. CHURCH, *University of Idaho*

PIO IX E MASSIMO D'AZEGLIO NELLE VICENDE ROMANE DEL 1847. Volume I, DALLE QUESTIONI INTERNE AL PROBLEMA NAZIONALE (DA DOCUMENTI INEDITI). Volume II, CULMINE E TRAMONTO DELLA COLLABORAZIONE. By *Romolo Quazza*. [Collezione storica del Risorgimento italiano, Serie III, Volumes XLVII, XLVIII.] (Modena, Società tipografica editrice modenese, 1954, pp. viii, 177; 179, L. 800 ea.) While no one seriously questions the patriotism of Massimo D'Azeglio, one of the stormy petrels of the Risorgimento, his roles in fitting about the central states of Italy in 1846-1847, his relations with Pius IX, and his relations with Piedmontese officialdom have been bones of contention picked clean by historians for the past century. Romolo Quazza, in this excellent study, has brought together the masses of correspondence, the labors of virtually all the scholars concerned with the life and times of the Piedmontese diplomat, and the pertinent minutiae in order to construct an almost day-by-day account of D'Azeglio's journey and, in turn, to explain the purpose of the venture. Prompting the venture, of course, were the early reforms of Pius IX, significant not in themselves but as portents of things to come. It was the proper atmosphere for the development of the National Program, i.e., the program of the Piedmontese Moderates, for Italian independence that D'Azeglio was seeking. (Until the reforms of October, 1847, the censorship and the political courts in Piedmont permitted no "atmosphere" at all, let alone an attractive one for a political program.) Central Italy, moving toward reform, must not, according to D'Azeglio, be permitted to fall into the hands of liberal extremists who might crystallize all shades of opposition both foreign and domestic to halt the movement before it had reached its full growth; nor should the reactionaries be permitted to abort the process of change under way in the Papal States. In his self-appointed role of adviser, persuader, and salesman for the program of the Moderates in Italy D'Azeglio brought his enormous popularity and prestige to bear on pope, priest, and laity alike. In the light of subsequent events (the war of 1848) his effectiveness in selling the National Program is open to serious question. In the longer view, the role of central Italy in the post-1848 period might be said to have its roots in the ground prepared by D'Azeglio. The author offers no evidence that the long-held suspicion of many historians that D'Azeglio was plotting a "Piedmontese Conspiracy" in central Italy has any real basis in fact. To be sure, the suspicion will remain in the minds of many but for this reviewer the "plot thesis" can now be laid quietly to rest.

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LA DIPLOMAZIA DEL REGNO DI SARDEGNA DURANTE LA PRIMA GUERRA D'INDIPENDENZA. Volume III, RELAZIONI CON IL REGNO DELLE DUE SICILIE (GENNAIO 1848-DICEMBRE 1849). Edited by *Guido Quazza*. [Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, Comitato di Torino.] (Turin, Museo nazionale

del Risorgimento, Palazzo Carignano, 1952, pp. xc, 415.) Though substantially expanded and buttressed by the publication of 343 letters that passed between the Sardinian ministry of foreign affairs and its representatives in Naples, the argument of this work is the same as that presented by Dr. Quazza in his article, "Il contrasto fra Torino e Napoli durante la guerra del '48" which appeared in the *Archivio storico napoletano* (1947-49) and in its sequel in the *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* (January-June, 1947), "Napoli e Torino tra rivoluzione e reazione." Quazza makes very good use of these new materials in pointing up subtleties largely ignored in the trenchantly partisan works of the Bourbonist Paladino and the Savoyard Bianchi, who were mainly concerned with laying the blame for the failures of 1848 and 1849, but the conclusion he reaches is not unfamiliar: historical process was on the side of the northern kingdom. Rather than blame, the main question in Quazza's view is that of the gap existing in those crucial years between the exalted visions of the liberal intellectuals and the realities of Italian immaturity. Both Turin and Naples were hampered by motives which the author terms "statistico-municipalistici," but the former capital is less blameworthy, if we must deal in such moral concepts, because its motives of this order were—for obvious geographical and historical reasons—more in harmony with the "processo unitario." Ferdinand was a cynical buffoon who would do anything to keep his precarious throne, and Charles Albert was interested in mere territorial aggrandizement. Dr. Quazza does not take either of these monarchs seriously to task for not being what he was not and could not be, but the reader is clearly given to understand that the Bourbons were even then being nudged toward exile by historical process and that this same splendid force, which surely rewards moral, social, and economic enlightenment, was about to sweep the House of Savoy into the Quirinal.

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Far Eastern History

EASTERN ASIA

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THE RISE OF CHINESE MILITARY POWER, 1895-1912. By Ralph L. Powell. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1955, pp. x, 383, \$6.00.) Students, whether

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

laymen or specialists, interested in the process of the struggle in China for modernization, should find this book by Professor Ralph L. Powell of real value. The author has, first of all, demonstrated a sound knowledge of the basic elements of Chinese society and especially of those elements which had become a hindrance to China's struggle for survival such as her limited loyalties, a decentralized government, a stationary economy, and conservatism or cultural arrogance. Professor Powell proceeds then skillfully to achieve his two underlying objectives: (1) to portray the growth of semipersonal armies and the rise of militarists to a position which permitted them to seize power upon the breakdown of the monarchical system; (2) to trace the modernization of the land forces of the Chinese Empire and to evaluate the degree of progress that was attained. In addition to giving general military history of this period, he masterfully describes the process of the elevation of the military profession in China. Another valuable contribution made by this work lies in the accurate and interesting accounts of the leading personalities, civil and military, Chinese and Manchu, who were involved in the making of new military history of China, 1895-1912. Three minor inaccuracies need to be amended: (1) one commission only was sent abroad in 1905 to study various constitutions in operation (p. 195); (2) Tuan Ch'î-jui was provisional, not "future provincial" chief executive from 1924 to 1926 (p. 141); (3) the new military system should be regarded as only one of the early aspects of Chinese society, not "the first" to reflect markedly the impact of Western civilization, since the elevation of the merchant class and the economic superiority of Western-trained personnel had already breached China's centrality.

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By Henry Bamford Parkes. (2d rev. ed.; New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1955, pp. xiv, 345, viii, \$4.50.) American historical criticism, true to its Germanic origins, always accords some measure of recognition to a monograph, no matter how dull, or perfunctory, or narrow, if it is based upon "hitherto unused sources." Such reverence for the documents is probably healthy, but it sometimes results in an underestimation of the kind of interpretive writing which seeks to find the meaning in well-known historical data and to achieve originality in insight rather than in content. Henry Bamford Parkes's *The American Experience* illustrates the problem well, for it is such an interpretation, and of its kind is an outstanding production. Here is a book which, although it disclaims any pretensions as a history, actually distills the essentials of American history with a vigorous conciseness that most of the pure narrators might envy. Here is a book which over and over again places familiar data in a perspective which reveals important new meanings. In these pages the wit, imagination, grasp, and insight of a talented and richly informed mind play over the whole range of

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

American history and frequently hit off in a phrase points that have not come clear from whole chapters in other books. The brilliance of Mr. Parkes's ideas and presentation ought to appeal even to those who feel that his theme is driven somewhat too hard. In brief, he argues that all that has been worth while in America derived from the agrarian tradition, with its ideas of freedom and equality, while all that is corrupting is identified with industrialism and the particular form of capitalism associated with it. He paints an extremely dark picture of industrialism, allowing it no credit whatever for having made possible the surpluses on which modern concepts of human welfare depend and castigating it for causing great extremes of wealth and poverty and also a falling birth rate—both of which, he might well have noted in his present revision, have now ceased to resemble what he portrays. There is some reason to doubt that agrarianism in the past was ever as Arcadian as he suggests and that industrialism in the present is still tainted with all the nineteenth-century evils for which he indicts it. In fact he is open to reproach for neglecting recent tendencies in our industrial system. Nevertheless, his book ranks among the most trenchant and most important of past or present interpretations of the American people, their ideals, and their character.

DAVID M. POTTER, *Yale University*

EARLY AMERICAN SCIENCE: NEEDS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR STUDY. By *Whitfield J. Bell, Jr.* (Williamsburg, Va., Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1955, pp. ix, 85, \$1.25.) This valuable book is made up of (1) a thirty-three-page survey by Mr. Bell of what has been done and what needs to be done about the history of science in what is now the United States from the beginnings down to 1820, and (2) a four-part bibliography, supplementing the footnotes in the survey and concluding with a thirty-five-page group of selective bibliographies of fifty early American scientists, from Benjamin Smith Barton to James Woodhouse. The outgrowth of a conference on the subject held at Williamsburg during 1952-1953, it could scarcely be improved upon as a guide for the scholar working in this area. Biography may have somewhat more prominence than it deserves, but Mr. Bell also writes of the work needed in bibliography, histories of individual sciences, editing of letters and other source materials, pseudo-science, education in science, the transmission of scientific ideas, popular conceptions of scientific knowledge, and the interrelations of society and thought with science. The point that American science is difficult to interpret without reference to the larger pattern of world science is made emphatically, so emphatically, indeed, that one wonders why there is so little allusion to the need for parallel consideration of what was happening in South and Central America at the same period. In general, however, the work displays both thoroughness and ingenuity; it should be something of a landmark in its field.

THEODORE HORNBERGER, *University of Minnesota*

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN ITS POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS, 1763-1783. By *Eric Robson*, Late Senior Lecturer in History, University of Manchester. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. ix, 254, \$2.90.) Eric Robson died in 1954 at the age of thirty-six. In the preface for this book he explained his design as that of considering the American Revolution in the light of Sir Lewis Namier's reinterpretation of English history. This is a task which needs a broad and deep understanding of both English and American historical scholarship; and it is not surprising that the first, and now unhappily the only, installment is fragmentary. It is neither a simple narrative for the general reader nor a detailed analysis for the scholarly specialist. It consists, modestly enough, of three related groups of essays. In the first the author reflects upon British policy and the causes of revolution, not only

in the light of Sir Lewis Namier's work but also within those wide imperial horizons which Professor Harlow has pointed out. In the second section Mr. Robson has drawn upon his own specialized knowledge of military history; and this enables him to make some penetrating observations on the war which Britain lost. The concentration on British defeat rather than American victory carries out the earlier emphasis on imperial policy; in chapters eight and nine the two themes come together, with the attempts at conciliation and the changes of strategy; and the book virtually ends with the significant anticlimax of the expedition to St. Lucia. Mr. Robson's work had not yet reached the stage when general conclusions could be formulated: for example, on the question whether Britain could have suppressed the revolt his various statements are difficult to reconcile (pp. 93, 113, 174). But he had the gift of asking the right questions and supplying tentative answers. His book contains much provocative suggestion, much incidental illumination, and a breadth of view which recognizes how tangled was the web of politics, opinion, and strategy.

G. H. GUTTRIDGE, *University of California, Berkeley*

THEY SEEK A COUNTRY: THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANS, SOME ASPECTS. Edited by *Gaius Jackson Slosser*. (New York, Macmillan, 1955, pp. xvi, 330, \$4.75.) The Presbyterians are perhaps the most historically minded of American religious bodies and as a result have been through the years indefatigable keepers of records. The Presbyterian Historical Society collection in Philadelphia and the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches located at Montreat, North Carolina, are without doubt two of the most extensive as well as the most professionally administered denominational historical collections in the United States. In spite of this material, however, there have been few major historical monographs on American Presbyterianism produced in the last fifty years and no comprehensive general history. Perhaps this fact was a major motive in bringing together a group of scholars in October, 1953, to consider historically the various phases of American Presbyterianism. This symposium, which met in Pittsburgh, the Presbyterian capital of America, was organized under the efficient leadership of Dr. Gaius Jackson Slosser, professor of ecclesiastical history and the history of doctrine at the Western Theological Seminary. Thirteen addresses were presented covering the major aspects of Presbyterianism in America with varying degrees of thoroughness and competence. Dr. Slosser in chapter one deals with Presbyterian origins; chapters two and three cover beginnings in America; chapters four and five trace the course of the United Presbyterians and the Reformed Presbyterians in the United States; other topics discussed are Presbyterians and education, missionary expansion at home and abroad, Presbyterianism and the slavery issue, early nineteenth-century trends and events, and finally "The Road Ahead." Of the fifteen collaborators, all but three are connected with colleges and theological seminaries, and two are non-Presbyterians. Some of the addresses might be considered patriotic history. In the case of Presbyterians this might be justified, for no religious body in America has had a more influential part in the building of American character or in establishing moral and religious standards.

WILLIAM WARREN SWEET, *Dallas, Texas*

THREE PRESIDENTS AND THEIR BOOKS: THE READING OF JEFFERSON, LINCOLN, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. By *Arthur Bestor, David C. Mearns, and Jonathan Daniels*. [Fifth Annual Windsor Lectures.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1955, pp. ix, 129, \$2.50.) It was a fine idea to devote the Windsor Lectures for 1953 to Presidents and books, and the selection of Presidents and speakers was excellent. The papers, as might be expected, vary greatly in character, although all

make real contributions. Dr. Bestor, the historian and propagandist, disposes of Jefferson's interest in books, *per se*, in the first part of his paper and then uses him and especially the famous case of the prescription of certain texts for use in the law courses at the University of Virginia as the basis for an essay on civil rights. Mr. Mearns, the librarian, makes effective use of the Lincoln material in his custody at the Library of Congress, much of which (especially the reminiscent variety) he finds of doubtful evidential value, and he arrives at the conclusion that Lincoln had relatively little interest in books or in reading. Mr. Daniels, the newspaperman and former White House attaché, writes about F.D.R. largely from memory and with considerable wit and presents his hero as an inveterate collector and lover of books, at least as physical objects. The publishers have put the material together in such an order as to make it very inconvenient for a scholar to use it effectively. Although a valuable documentary appendix follows Bestor's paper, his notes, which are often more than references, and Mearns's notes, which are usually confined to references, are at the end of the book, following Daniels' paper, which has no notes.

SOLON J. BUCK, *Washington, D.C.*

PRESIDENTIAL BALLOTS, 1836-1892. By *W. Dean Burnham*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1955, pp. xix, 956, \$10.00.) By compiling in one volume, by counties, the statistics of fifteen presidential elections Mr. Burnham has performed a long-needed service for historians. He has provided a reference work for the period 1836-1892, inclusive, such as E. E. Robinson has already furnished for the elections from 1896 through 1944. Very wisely, he has adopted the same framework of presentation as that used by Dr. Robinson, thus making possible the use of both compilations as if they formed a unified work. The following critical comment may be offered. For a complete historical record, 1824 should have been the starting point rather than 1836. If, as the publishers state, "in many instances, his researches have led to election totals different from those hitherto accepted as official," these instances should have been clearly indicated. Upon checking certain counties in Burnham against the *Whig Almanacs* or the *Tribune Almanacs*, where these are the cited sources, variations are found to exist. If there are reasons for these discrepancies, they should have been stated. Since the official manuscript returns for Kentucky are not only in existence but were published by Shannon and McQuown in 1950, one wonders why the author preferred to use only the unofficial *Almanac* sources for this state. The statement (p. 157) to the effect that both great parties after the Civil War were sectional rather than national is not accurate insofar as the Democratic party is concerned and is not in accord with author's description of that party (p. 158). What is now needed is the computation of the percentage of the vote accorded to each party, by counties. This would be more significant than the actual vote because it would reveal the intensity as well as the regularity of political preference. Mr. Burnham's work will provide a convenient basis for such a computation. The discrepancies referred to above are not great enough to affect percentages seriously. Mr. Burnham has completed a monumental task and is to be commended for his great industry and painstaking workmanship.

HARVEY L. CARTER, *Colorado College*

BROADLOOMS AND BUSINESSMEN: A HISTORY OF THE BIGELOW-SANFORD CARPET COMPANY. By *John S. Ewing* and *Nancy P. Norton*. [Harvard Studies in Business History, XVII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955, pp. xx, 439, \$9.00.) This book stems from the desire of an executive for a history of his company and the willingness of the Harvard Business School to supply it. The company made a gift to Harvard, surrendered its early records, made its later ones avail-

able, permitted the authors to interview its employees, and "accepted the stipulation that there should be no restriction on publication except that nothing should be published that might impair the company's current business relationships in individual instances." Drs. Ewing and Norton, with research assistance, undertook the task, Dr. Norton being assigned the period through 1914 and Dr. Ewing dealing with developments after that date. The result is a clearly written, well integrated, and lavishly illustrated book which students of American economic and business history will find of great value. To write the history of Bigelow-Sanford is to write the history of the American carpet industry, for today's company represents a long evolution characterized by a number of mergers. The story, however, is broader than the carpet industry; it becomes in a sense a study of our industrial development. The carpet manufacture as an integral part of American society felt the impact of wars, depressions, booms, rising standards of living, technological change, scientific research, fashion changes, and the increasing competition for the consumer's dollar. All these are reflected in this history. New light is thrown on the combination movement. More than once a merger resulted from a crisis in management—the failure of a company to provide for "management succession." The authors have not been overwhelmed by their material. They have preserved the human elements in the story. And rightly so: time and again personality emerges as a decisive factor. The book is not without flaws, including some factual errors. The notes gathered in the back, constitute the only bibliography. A bibliographical essay would have been of value since the nature and quantity of the sources varied greatly from period to period and company to company.

HARRY BROWN, *Michigan State University*

THE BIG BUSINESS EXECUTIVE: THE FACTORS THAT MADE HIM, 1900-1950. By *Mabel Newcomer*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1955, pp. xii, 164, \$4.00.) This statistical study of three different generations of corporation presidents and board chairmen confirms much of what historians have said about the background, training, and experience of twentieth-century executives. Today's professional managers are, as we have long supposed, native Americans, the sons of businessmen, Protestants, college men, and Republicans. This does not mean that the book merely documents the obvious. In addition to spelling out many unsuspected differences in the leadership of railroad, public utility, and industrial enterprises, it explains the principal changes in leadership since 1900, charts the most likely routes to the top, discusses the relative merits of inside and outside boards, explores the relation of leadership to corporation growth, and, happily, scouts the idea that executives die at an early age of heart failure and ulcers. Professor Newcomer's excellent book is an important addition to the fast-growing literature on the American businessman.

IRVIN G. WYLLIE, *University of Missouri*

THE QUARTERMASTER CORPS: ORGANIZATION, SUPPLY, AND SERVICES. Volume II. By *Erna Risch* and *Chester L. Kieffer*. [United States Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, D.C., Department of the Army, 1955, pp. xiv, 433, \$4.00.) This volume on the organization and work of the Quartermaster Corps completes the official account of the basic programs and problems of the corps in World War II. Written in the candid manner which marked the first volume in this series, the authors continue to examine the complexities of the corps's assignment and explain the corps's policies and actions, noting both mistakes and successes. Quartermaster activities, ranging from washing and dry-cleaning clothes, salvaging equipment, and feeding the living to identifying and burying the dead, brought continual headaches and the need for constant hard, and often ingenious, work by the

QMC. During the war the corps worked under the handicap of low priorities for the materials necessary for manufacturing essential but "non-combat" items. It was plagued by a continual shortage of trained officers and men. Since the combat arms skimmed off the cream of the officer material, it was an uphill fight all the way for the corps to secure able and qualified personnel. Indeed, two basic errors in military thinking in regard to quartermaster work were exposed. First, it soon became evident that not every officer willy-nilly could be assigned to the QMC and immediately learn the job. As in many other sectors, the military had to learn that its assumption that any Army officer could learn any job was wrong. Second, the point was emphasized that the training of quartermaster personnel was a long-term job; men could not become tailors or shoe repairmen overnight. A short chapter is devoted to the corps's activities in procuring horses and mules (the latter still an indispensable item even in the days of mechanized warfare), and the training of dogs for war purposes. A most interesting discussion of the contract termination and surplus property disposal programs provides much meat for economic historians in this most important but little-known field. The major difficulty the authors faced in writing this volume was inherent in the nature of the book itself. Long sections had to be devoted to administrative history which is of value and interest only to a small number of professional military historians and quartermaster personnel. Also, the work of the corps did not lend itself to an integrated treatment, which leaves the impression that the book consists of a number of monographs bound together. On the other hand, the study is quite readable and is spotted with nuggets of information not only for professional soldiers and military historians but for men whose contact with the QMC's work was of a more transient nature.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

- A LITTLE REBELLION. By Marion L. Starkey. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1955, pp. xiv, 258, ix, \$4.00.) *A Little Rebellion*, the story of Shays' Rebellion and its influ-

ence on bringing about the Constitution, will please those who like their history told in a flowing, colorful, highly readable style. No footnotes distract the reader in this interesting mixture of history, imagination, and melodrama. But skeptics, of which this reviewer is one, might well wish for some check on the author. Miss Starkey's erroneous views about Massachusetts' government and Samuel Adams make her entire account open to question. Massachusetts was far more democratic than she contends. The voting franchise excluded few; average farmers, not men of near munificence, could qualify for the senate; and in spite of her statement to the contrary, every town had many citizens who could qualify for the legislature. Neither was Samuel Adams a revolutionary turned reactionary. Believing as he did in constitutional government based on the consent of the governed, he naturally opposed the British and the Shaysite use of force instead of constitutional methods just as he naturally favored the revolutionists in France. Miss Starkey's sympathies are obviously with the Shaysites, but she never explains how a democratic government can operate if any group, either left or right, can thwart majority rule. Democracy, not its absence, caused the government to act slowly, to make concessions, and to be generous with its pardons.

ROBERT E. BROWN, *Michigan State University*

EDWIN D. MORGAN, 1811-1883: *MERCHANT IN POLITICS*. By James A. Rawley. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 582.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1955, pp. 321, \$5.00.) *Edwin D. Morgan: Merchant in Politics*, is essentially a study of the political career of a New York businessman. He entered politics as a member of the Common Council in Hartford, Connecticut. Subsequently, he became an assistant alderman in New York City, state senator, governor of New York, United States senator, and was twice selected as national Republican chairman. He started out as a Whig but early in 1855, "before Lincoln or Seward made the change," he became a Republican. In politics, he was always a conservative. His legislative record is one of undeviating party regularity and party loyalty. In his more than three decades of public life he did nothing to arouse either popular approval or public indignation. He supported all important Republican measures of the day and as a member of the Senate voted for the conviction of Andrew Johnson. Despite his long and varied political life Morgan is important chiefly as a businessman. In 1828, at the age of seventeen, he began work as a \$28-a-year clerk in his uncle's store. Fifteen years later he formed the partnership of E. D. Morgan & Co., which was destined to become one of the nation's foremost importing houses. During the 1850's he expanded his interests to include clipper ships, railroads, and government securities. Between 1855 and 1860, approximately \$30,000,000 worth of bonds issued by the state of Missouri and the city of St. Louis were handled by his firm. At his death, Morgan left an estate estimated at eight to ten million dollars. Unfortunately only about ten per cent of the book is devoted to Morgan's business ventures. "Contemporaries," declares Professor Rawley, "credited Morgan with having brought new methods of doing business to New York." What were these new methods? The author does not say. There is virtually nothing in the book about management, organization, or competition. Morgan, we are told, founded his achievements upon Christian principles. "A new trinity, God, Business and Benign Government, seems to have been established." It is difficult to square this view with Morgan's purchase of the Schenectady and Troy railroad. The consolidation of this line into the New York Central system was a swindle from the outset, and Morgan was an important party to it. There is little in the book about Morgan's family or private life. One might infer that he was a dull, uninspiring soul who divided his day between business and politics with little time for anything else. Professor Rawley's work, which rests upon a considerable volume of manuscript as well as secondary sources, is an

extraordinarily well-written and important addition to the political history of the Civil War period.

HARRY H. PIERCE, *Syracuse University*

A GOODLY HERITAGE: EARLIEST WILLS ON AN AMERICAN FRONTIER. By *Ella Chalfant*. [The Western Pennsylvania Series.] (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955, pp. xiii, 239, \$3.00.) The chief records utilized for this little volume come from the first three Will Books of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. Will Book I of that county begins with a grant of letters of administration in an intestacy, recorded on February 17, 1789 (pp. 9-15), and the last item noted from Book III seems to be a will recorded on February 2, 1830 (pp. 188-91). One proceeding is drawn from a different source: a prayer for the partition of land, dated October 13, 1855 (pp. 18-23). The author brings to her book "almost two decades of experience as a librarian and statistician in the Pittsburgh banking industry." In the course of her work and in the further researches to which intelligent curiosity led her, she obviously again and again has stepped from the pages of a will into living scenes of Pittsburgh's past. Her method has been to select certain wills and intestate proceedings from the Will Books, to print rather generous excerpts from some of them, and then to search newspapers, histories, and other sources for data that would help her re-create the entire setting. The resultant book is a series of wide-angle word-snapshots of the life and times, the people and customs of Pittsburgh in these years. Aside from various minor word-slips (appraisers are called "executors" on p. 11), the only serious error appears to be Miss Chalfant's curious impression that "the Missouri Compromise prohibited slavery entirely in Pennsylvania and other states north of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude" (p. 93). Appendix C contains alphabetical indexes to Will Books I-III; and Appendix B gives useful directions on "How To Look Up a Will." The inside of the double-folded dustjacket gives the reader the 1784 map of Pittsburgh Manor. The entire volume is a beautiful example of the printer's art.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE RALEIGH REGISTER, 1799-1863. By *Robert Neal Elliott, Jr.* [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume XXXVI.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1955, pp. ix, 133, \$1.25.) Students of the social and intellectual history of the South will welcome this competent study of a leading North Carolina newspaper of the ante-bellum period. It is a study of a remarkable personality, the editor Joseph Gales, his wife Winifred and his sons, as well as an analysis of a newspaper. Joseph Gales was one of the most liberal and progressive leaders in Southern journalism. The *Raleigh Register* started its career as an ardent champion of the party of Thomas Jefferson and gradually changed into an extremely conservative journal. The author could have strengthened his study by a deeper analysis of the reasons of this striking change from liberalism to conservatism. Since the *Register* was devoted very largely to national politics, this study is concerned principally with a discussion of its support of Jeffersonian republicanism, Whig policies, and endeavors to preserve the Union. The author has also given a very interesting picture of the social life of Raleigh and of the problems of a Southern editor. He has made a contribution to a relatively undeveloped field in Southern history, a study of life in the towns and cities of the Old South.

CLEMENT EATON, *University of Kentucky*

BISHOP CANNON'S OWN STORY: LIFE AS I HAVE SEEN IT, BY JAMES CANNON, JR. Edited by *Richard L. Watson, Jr.* (Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1955, pp. xxxiv, 465, \$6.75.) The long-promised autobiography of Southern Methodism's contentious bishop (1864-1944) produces few surprises, though it does give his side of certain controversies and, quoting the editor, reflects Cannon's "personality and character." Lamentably the work is incomplete, stopping in the middle of the 1928 election campaign. A later draft, carrying the story into 1932, mysteriously disappeared. Cannon's descendants gave the editor a free hand, including access to the bishop's papers. Although Mr. Watson cut the surviving narrative by thirty per cent, he could well have further shortened at least the international and mission portions. Errors of fact are few, though a startling identification of what must surely be the wrong wife occurs (pp. 428, 451). For a briefer yet more comprehensive account of

Cannon's life, fair in intent but unfavorable in total effect, we must still go to Virginius Dabney's *Dry Messiah* (1949). Obvious in the autobiography are the personal characteristics which made Cannon a resourceful clergyman, an effective reformer, a potent Virginia politician, and a national figure in the heyday of the Eighteenth Amendment. Frail and slight, reserved almost to coldness, he used his notable business and legal acumen, his sense for "absolute authority," his humorless personal drive, and his voluble pen, in the interests of Blackstone Female Institute, the dry daily Richmond *Virginian*, Methodist reunion, the Federal Council of Churches, the rights of Southern workingmen, world ecumenicity, and national prohibition. In his insistence that "moral issues are supreme," in his appeal to "the new social consciousness," in his aim for "translation into the social order of the teachings of Jesus Christ concerning human brotherhood," Cannon stands as a not atypical member of the Progressive period reformers. Like Progressives, too, Cannon had blind spots, including anti-urban appeals, anti-machine outcries (city variety only), anti-Catholic rant. In more than methods he sometimes fell short of the best of Progressivism. Indeed, his reverence for "facts," his love of the logical conclusion, his setting up of false dualisms, his inability to ascribe a noble motive to an opponent, his use of the weapons of democracy in undemocratic ways—all suggest that these methods of the demagogue were not invented in the 1950's. Cannon's story is thus shot through with tragedy: in Milton's words, "out of good still to find means of evil."

THEODORE L. AGNEW, *Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College*

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN ALABAMA, 1798-1901: A STUDY IN POLITICS, THE NEGRO, AND SECTIONALISM. By *Malcolm Cook McMillan*, Research Professor of History, Alabama Polytechnic Institute. [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume XXXVII.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1955, pp. ix, 412, \$2.50.) During Alabama's territorial period the Northwest Ordinance served as her fundamental law. In 1819 the state was admitted to the Union with a constitution more liberal, with one exception, than any other in the South. Eighty-two years and five constitutions later she had "the most complicated and undemocratic suffrage" requirements in the entire United States. During this period, too, her democracy had regressed in other ways. The power of the legislature declined as that of the governor grew. The electorate, which had included all adult white males until 1868, was broadened further by the enfranchisement of the Negro. But after a few brief years of political participation, the Negro was eliminated from active politics, by fraud and intimidation at first, but legally after 1901. Professor McMillan points out quite accurately that the effect of the disfranchising clauses of the constitution of 1901 was the disfranchisement of tens of thousands of white men, since the Negro, at whom the measures were supposedly aimed, had already ceased to vote. Mr. McMillan has done a thorough job of research and he has made a masterful analysis of his findings. His story is clearly and dispassionately told, and he never dodges a logical conclusion even when the final proof is unavailable. He frankly acknowledges his belief (pp. 350-52) that the disfranchising constitution of 1901 was ratified by irregular and illegal methods. McMillan's story has disturbing implications. While the country, in general, has moved in a progressive and liberal direction, Alabama has been moving in the opposite direction. And this in a period when the state was making great industrial progress. The author's explanation for this seeming paradox is "the presence of the Negro in large numbers." It is this presence, not in the center of the stage itself but off in the wings threatening to take part in the play, which has been the deciding factor in all constitutional questions from 1819 to the present.

A. D. KIRWAN, *University of Kentucky*

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF SAM HOUSTON. Edited by *Donald Day* and *Harry Herbert Ullom*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1954, pp. xviii, 298, \$5.00.) Dr. Donald Day, a few years ago, adopted a technique for creating an "autobiography" for the greats and near-greats who never found the time, or who may have died too soon, to write their own story. The procedure is to examine with microscopic care all the letters, reported addresses, private memorandums, and diaries, if any, of the subject and extract therefrom all references to himself. Those worthy of record are then arranged in chronological order. Italicized paragraphs by the editor are used to fill in the gaps, explain the situation that created the statement, and even to interpret the tide of events that left the document upon our historical shore. If Dr. Day has proved nothing else, he has demonstrated rather clearly that great men, like their smaller brothers, find plenty of time in a busy life to say and write quite a bit about themselves. Occasionally such fragments are better than autobiographical writing because they are not intended to be a part of an over-all self-justifying record. Even so, this technique captures a considerable amount of self-vindication, frequent denunciations of opponents, and remarks suggestive of poorly suppressed self-congratulations. Having highlighted these qualities in such diverse personalities as Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and humorist Josh Billings (Henry Wheeler Shaw), Dr. Day, in company with Harry Herbert Ullom, has turned his attention and techniques to a man whom his uninhibited Indian friends alternately called the Raven and Big Drunk. Perhaps it is just as well that Senator Sam Houston was so busy in Washington, 1849-1859, that he left the first full and readable story of his life to the deft and artful pen of Marquis James. The Washington period, however, seems to have been one chapter in the life of the famous Texan (there will always be mysterious, unexplained episodes in his life) in which he gave serious thought to a personal narrative. He had ambitions to be President. He needed a campaign biography. To that end, he dictated copious paragraphs, always referring to himself in the third person, which provided some of the best sections of the current "autobiography." It would be easy for a carping critic to suggest that the existence of practically all such materials in print, most of it magnificently collected in eight well-indexed volumes under the editorship of Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker, makes the present volume wholly unnecessary. Such would be far short of the truth. The prefatory essay by the editors, their bibliography, documentation, and most of all their italicized connective and interpretative paragraphs constitute a genuine contribution to an understanding of a man whose many rough facets have often distorted and diffused, instead of reflecting and clarifying, the historical lights of his day.

JIM DAN HILL, *Wisconsin State College, Superior*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE FRONTIER CAMP MEETING: RELIGION'S HARVEST TIME. By *Charles A. Johnson*. (Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1955, pp. xiii, 325, \$5.00.) Although much has been written about camp meetings, the men who conducted them, the methods they used, and the results both good and bad, this study is presented as the first comprehensive historical narrative of the institution. The volume

is limited to the trans-Allegheny West and to the years 1800-1840. Since the author's research indicated that the camp meeting came to be used mainly by the Methodists, he devotes the greater part of this work to the institution as conducted by that denomination. The camp meeting originated in the Great Revival, 1800-1805, but it developed out of the efforts of the more liberal Protestant sects to attract and convert a scattered and poorly educated people who lived intimately with nature and danger. The author explains rather than defends the manifestations of mass hysteria, which the more responsible leaders soon sought to control or prevent. Rules, schedules, grounds, police, preachers, sermons, singing, and the harvest of converts are all described. Other churches than the Methodist may claim a larger part in the development and use of the camp meeting than Johnson assigns to them. Less than a complete understanding of the frontier is indicated by remarks that the outdoor life "occasionally" broke the health of the circuit rider (p. 157), and that the frontiersmen engaged in "ceaseless hard labor" (p. 12). The debauchery and irreligion of the frontier is somewhat overstressed. The omission of a reference to Catherine C. Cleveland's *The Great Revival in the West* (1916) is difficult to understand. The chief contribution of the study lies in its detached approach to the features of the camp meeting and in the author's effort to understand rather than praise or condemn. The study also assembles in one volume information about the various features of this revival technique. The study is very useful as well as scholarly.

JOHN D. BARNHART, *Indiana University*

CUSTER'S LUCK. By *Edgar I. Stewart*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1955, pp. xvi, 522, \$5.95.) Unless startling new evidence is unearthed, this volume probably will stand as the definitive account of the controversial battle of the Little Big Horn, an engagement which has stirred generations of historians, both professional and amateur, to countless pages of acrimonious controversy. They have wrangled over a dozen or more issues: Did Custer obey orders? Did Reno and Benteen disobey their orders? How many Indians comprised the hostile force? Were the dead mutilated? Was there a survivor of the battle? These and other speculations Mr. Stewart evaluates with dispassionate appraisal. After discussing the tribes of the plains and the implications of the government's peace policy after the Civil War, he develops the causes of the coming strife between the army and the tribes. The impeachment of W. W. Belknap, Secretary of War in the Grant administration, exposes the bungling of the War Department and the rapacity of Indian traders. The bulk of the volume, however, is devoted to the activities of the army on the western frontier, climaxed by the action of 1876—the last stand—when battle was joined. The author's analysis of events leading to the catastrophe of Custer's command, including Sitting Bull's strategy, Major Reno's disposition of his troopers, Custer's movements, is an admirable demonstration of historical interpretation. Mr. Stewart, when discussing the battle itself, is more than cautious, weighing conflicting evidence and evaluating theories put forth by previous writers. Yet he finally refuses to commit himself unreservedly on those very issues which have agitated scholars of the battle for so long. He contents himself by saying that it would "seem" as if both Custer and Reno disobeyed orders, that the extremely large number of hostile tribesmen was not a deciding battle factor, that Reno's decision to halt and fight on foot made ultimate victory impossible, that Custer was at fault in breaking his regiment into parts and scattering them widely. Mr. Stewart does state, without qualification, that the battle of the Little Big Horn was badly planned and in some aspects badly fought. He agrees with another interpreter who wrote that practically every principle of war was violated and that the audacious spirit of the cavalry failed to manifest itself. This

book, although perhaps adding nothing new to the knowledge of a dramatic and pathetic episode in plains warfare, at least makes it clear that perhaps there is nothing new to add.

PHILIP D. JORDAN, *University of Minnesota*

TERRITORIAL KANSAS: STUDIES COMMEMORATING THE CENTENNIAL.

[University of Kansas Publications, Social Science Studies.] (Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1954, pp. xii, 205, cloth \$3.50, paper \$2.75.) This brief volume of seven essays is a series of interpretive studies ranging from the political geography of the Kansas territorial area to statehood. Their corrective character gives them value for students of western history. Only two references are made to Frank H. Hodder's studies, and George Fort Milton's volume on Stephen A. Douglas is not mentioned. These heavily footnoted studies are based primarily on newspapers, public documents, journals, and articles published in historical quarterlies. According to the third essay, the "western sentiment," "local self-government," and political party aims were the chief issues, although there was much ado made about the slavery question. Valuable information is also presented on immigration from Europe and its influence on Kansas politics. The author of the second essay is convinced that Douglas, a western man, seriously intended to introduce by legislation frontier local self-government in the Kansas-Nebraska Territory. Students of monetary problems in the West may find here further interpretation of the effects of Jackson's banking policy on the frontier (p. 107). The chaotic state of the currencies in Kansas Territory was not unique, but the close relation of weather, politics, and the scarcity of good exchange make an interesting pen picture of pioneer banking and territorial economic problems. The story of the development of Atchison and its dependency on overland trade, travel, and mail throws useful and timely light on western economy.

WILLIAM E. SMITH, *Miami University*

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Latin-American History

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GENERAL

THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE SUGAR ISLANDS, 1759: A STUDY OF AMPHIBIOUS WARFARE. By *Marshall Smelser*. Foreword by Samuel Eliot Morison. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press for Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1955, pp. xii, 212, \$5.00.) There is not much to be said about this little book. It is a competent account, based upon the French and English sources, of one of the minor land-sea military operations of the Seven Years' War, whose eventual significance was probably out of all proportion to its size. The book is a play-by-play account of the British expedition against Martinique and Guadeloupe during the winter and spring of 1759. The narrative, told in adequate detail, is presented chiefly from the British point of view, with the result that the British operations, and the reasons for them, are much clearer than those of the French, although the account itself is entirely objective. To the narrative is added an appendix on eighteenth-century military tactics and organization, certain types of ships, rations, fortifications, convoys, etc. There is a brief bibliographical note on the materials used; British sources seem to be more extensively inclusive than the French sources listed. Where the author touches upon the international aspects of the campaign relative to the neutral Dutch, his touch is not so sure as in the parts dealing with purely military history. His explanation of the blockade of Dutch St. Eustatius (pp. 132-35), indeed, is entirely unconvincing; and the reference to the Anglo-Dutch treaties of 1674 and 1678 is not exactly relevant. For the British blockade of St. Eustatius in March and April of 1759 had been preceded by a much more effective blockade in 1758; and both these blockades were justified by the British under the so-called "Rule of the War of 1756." The history of this "Rule" is given, with specific reference to St. Eustatius in the Seven Years' War, in Richard Pares, *Colonial Blockade and Neutral Rights* (Oxford, 1938), which Mr. Smelser apparently has not seen. Otherwise, the book is a sound monographic chapter of military and naval history. It is well written, often with a light touch, and is genuinely interesting in its own right.

MAX SAVELLE, *University of Washington*

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COLONIAL PERIOD

- CORTES AND MONTEZUMA. By Maurice Collis. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1955, pp. 256, \$4.00.) Written by a nonspecialist for nonspecialists, this well-written but undocumented essay makes lively and interesting reading but no substantial contribution to knowledge. Mr. Collis, a prolific author of histories, plays, novels, art and literary criticism, has turned his literary talents to the conquest of Mexico and has selected the dramatic confrontation of Spanish civilization, represented by Hernán Cortés, and the complex native civilization, symbolized by Montezuma. He makes a valiant attempt to illuminate the psychology of the Indian leader, and to raise him to the historical fame enjoyed by Cortés, through popularization and explanation of the intricate religious and political systems culminating in the person of the Aztec leader. Relying heavily on standard accounts (the Cortés letters, Bernal Díaz) and readily available materials on native matters, Mr. Collis has woven a colorful tapestry which is correct enough in broad outline but whose details reveal lack of substantial knowledge of the vast specialized literature on the several themes presented. A handsomely made book, it can find a useful place as collateral reading for undergraduate courses dealing with the conquest of the Americas.

HOWARD F. CLINE, *Library of Congress*

- RELACIÓN DEL NUEVO DESCUBRIMIENTO DEL FAMOSO RÍO DE LAS AMAZONAS. By Fray Gaspar de Carvajal, O.P. Edited, with Introduction and Notes,

by Jorge Hernández Millares. [Biblioteca Americana, Serie de Cronistas de Indias, 28.] (Mexico, D.F., Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1955, pp. 157.) This edition is based on an incomplete manuscript now in the Muñoz collection of the Academy of History, Madrid, compared with the duke of T'Serclaes version used by Toribio de Medina in 1894. Neither manuscript is the original. As a narrative of discovery Carvajal's work could scarcely be less precise or more unsatisfactory. Of its many unsatisfactory features, three may be noted. When and where did Orellana learn the Indian languages which he allegedly spoke so fluently? What later happened to the hundreds of thousands of Indians described by Carvajal in a region where their disappearance could not be ascribed to Spanish conquest? Finally, how could an expedition which required from December, 1541, to August 26, 1542, to reach the mouth of the Amazon sail more than twelve hundred miles coastwise to reach Cubagua, off the coast of Venezuela, by September 11, in only seventeen days? These do not end the mysteries presented by this chronicle. This reviewer suggests that the question of just where Orellana sailed is still open to examination.

BAILEY W. DIFFIE, *City College of New York*

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NATIONAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

COCK OF THE WALK: THE LEGEND OF PANCHO VILLA. By *Haldeen Braddy*. (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1955, pp. xi, 174, \$4.00.) Although the Mexican Revolution is one of the most significant modern movements in Latin America, few scholarly attempts have yet been made to write objective history of it, or to limn its outstanding leaders. Doroteo Arango, better known as Pancho Villa, was one of those leaders, with varying influence from the outbreak of the Revolution in 1910 until his death in 1923. The author of the present biography, a professor of English at Texas Western College, has long been interested in the figure of Villa; he states that it has been his ambition to write a book that will report the true Villa "once and for all. . . . One of my main objectives has been to tell the story of Villa from beginning to end." He does not meet these self-imposed goals. He does, however, provide a useful but undocumented anecdotal biography and an episodic collection of essays on various phases of Pancho Villa the man and Pancho Villa as a legend. The essays are roughly ordered in chronological sequence. He has paid a good deal of attention to Villa as a young man, as a lover, as an avaricious bandit, and has collected a great deal of material on Villa as others saw him, making much use of corridos—Mexican popular ballads. Dr. Braddy has, though, by no means exhausted the available printed material on this elusive figure and has left completely untouched the enormous mass of scattered standard material available to a serious biographer—letters, reports, and the like in the public and private collections of Revolutionary material in Mexico and in the National Archives of the United States. Villa as a political figure, his relations with other leaders, as a military planner, in short, as a continuing and almost dominant element in the Revolutionary years 1913-1916 are touched only marginally and in some cases incorrectly. Dr. Braddy has a lively style which often covers his lack of information. He has personally explored much of the Villa country of northern Mexico. His view of Villa as "more cocky than blood-thirsty" remains more a personal hypothesis than an established historical fact. In

fine, Dr. Braddy has produced a readable volume, whose historical importance is relatively minor. It is neither the definitive biography of Pancho Villa nor the systematic tracing of the legends about him. But when the definitive biography is written, Braddy's work will form a useful source of supplementary information.

HOWARD F. CLINE, *Library of Congress*

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SOUTH AMERICA

PRESIDENTES DE VENEZUELA: EL DOCTOR FRANCISCO ESPEJO. ENSAYO BIOGRAFICO. By Héctor Parra Márquez. (2d ed.; Caracas, Imprenta Lopez, Buenos Aires, 1954, pp. 294.) Dr. Francisco Espejo was a prominent figure in the early days of the struggle for independence in Venezuela. He was trained as a lawyer, practiced the profession and held high judicial positions under Spain. He was also one of the founders of the College of Lawyers of Caracas. He became a member of a patriotic organization, collaborated with Miranda, and actively engaged in the efforts for independence both in Caracas and Valencia, holding important positions in the insurrectionary government. Under Monteverde's direction he was tried for treason, but execution of the sentence was suspended. Finally, when Boves was successful in his campaigns, Espejo was among those condemned and executed for opposition to Spain. Dr. Héctor Parra Márquez, the outstanding legal historian of Venezuela, has related in an interesting and readable manner the story of the life of Espejo. Briefly his early training and activities are described and then in five chapters the details of his contribution to the cause of independence and his martyrdom are presented. In the appendix there are various documents which reveal aspects of his life. Among them are his birth certificate, a discourse at the Patriotic Society, a draft of a constitution, decrees which he prepared, a résumé of his trial for treason, and the list of persons executed by Boves. The volume is a valuable contribution to the history of the early days of the movement for independence in Venezuela, giving the story regarding one of the lesser-known heroes. ROSCOE R. HILL, *Washington, D.C.*

CARTAS Y MENSAJES DEL GENERAL FRANCISCO DE PAULA SANTANDER.

Volumes I and II. Compiled by *Roberto Cortazar*. (Bogotá, Talleres Editoriales de Librería Voluntad, 1953, pp. x, 396; 485.) Francisco de Paula Santander played an important role in the early history of the Republic of Colombia. Upon the outbreak of the war for independence he entered the army and was under the command of Bolívar, participating in several campaigns. He rose rapidly in rank, becoming a general in 1819. Soon afterwards, Bolívar made him vice-president of the newly organized Great Colombia. In this position Santander had direct administrative control over the present area of Colombia and acted as an efficient lieutenant of Bolívar. He raised troops and secured money and supplies for the campaigns of Bolívar to the west and south. He also directed various campaigns to the eastward of Colombia and continued his activities until the achievement of independence. He remained as vice-president of Great Colombia until its dissolution at the death of Bolívar. Later he served as president of New Granada (1832-1836). As an active administrative and military leader Santander wrote many letters, proclamations, and other papers. However there is no complete collection of his writings. Thus the Colombian Academy of History, on the occasion of the centenary of the death of Santander has sponsored this collection of letters and messages, edited by Dr. Roberto Cortazar, one of its members. The papers have been assembled from every possible source. Of the first two volumes of the series, Volume I covers the years 1812-1819 and Volume II the year 1820. Thus the first volume deals with the beginning of his career and the activities of the first year (1819) as vice-president. Of the 440 items in this volume, 78 are letters directed to Bolívar. Among the 439 documents of Volume II, there are 122 letters to Bolívar, 123 to the minister of war and 63 to the minister of justice, as well as letters to various individuals and numerous decrees and proclamations. The volumes, therefore, serve especially to complement the *Obras completas de Bolívar*, edited by the late Dr. Vicente Lecuna. The documents reveal the mentality and positive actions which Santander employed to further the cause to which he devoted his life. The work of editing is efficiently and effectively carried out by Dr. Cortazar, and he and the Academy are to be congratulated for undertaking this important project of Colombian historiography. ROSCOE R. HILL, *Washington, D.C.*

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences

Rome in early September was the setting for the Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences, just fifty-five years after the initial meeting in Paris in 1900. In the wealth and continuity of its monuments and in the universality of its tradition, no city of the Western world has a better right to be host to such an ecumenical gathering. And on this occasion, fresh emphasis was given to the universal character of the Congress by the dramatic reappearance of Soviet Russia and all but two of the countries east of the Iron Curtain, as well as by the return of Japan and Brazil, and by the appropriate entry for the first time of the Holy See. Communist China, India, and Australia had likewise made inquiries looking to their possible early integration.

Rome proved both a magnet and a distraction. The great monuments sometimes exerted more attraction for our pilgrims than the sessions of the Congress, although the latter were, with some exceptions, very well attended. In any event, the Congress had an impressive attendance—35 countries, roughly 1,600 direct participants and a total of 2,200, including family members, *et al.* Americans present were 102, a figure which contrasts with about 60 at the last Congress at Paris and even more vividly with that of fewer than 20 at the Berlin Congress of 1908, as reported by Charles H. Haskins in the *American Historical Review* for October of that year. France led in the number of those officially listed, with 463. There followed Italy, with 357; Britain, 260; Germany, 206 (with no breakdown for East and West, but certainly only a very small number for East Germany); United States, 102; Yugoslavia, 77; Switzerland, 67; and so on. Except for the United States, the more distant countries had small delegations: Japan, 4; Latin America as a whole only 11. The eastern European countries, present for the first time since the last war, also had rather small delegations: USSR, 24; Poland, 12; Czechoslovakia, 6; Rumania and Hungary, 5 each.

Quite naturally the interest and curiosity of the participants was centered to an exceptional degree on the Russian and east European delegations. Two strong impressions emerged. On the one hand, the papers and the (invariably written) comments on the papers of others followed a carefully articulated pattern, so that on a given paper representatives of several of the satellites would regularly come up with a kind of well-drilled chorus of comment. In short, the intellectual contribution to the Congress was both predictable and rather marginal. On the other hand, friendliness was the order of the day, and the members of the different delegations were quite ready for individual conversations, although it was not always easy to find a common medium of exchange. The leader of the Russian delegation, Madame A. M. Pankratova, of the Academy of Sciences, appeared at

early meetings with a young woman interpreter who gave her a machine-gun rendition of everything. Later she ceased to use the interpreter and at the final plenary session abandoned her entirely and took copious notes herself in Russian. Although the Soviet delegates spoke in pretty general terms and were on occasion quite evasive, they obviously wanted to give the impression that a larger intellectual exchange and co-operation with the West was now going to be possible.

Since the eastern European states had been late to announce their intention of being present for the Congress, their representatives necessarily could be given only a limited part in the program, already established. As compensation, each of the satellite countries issued a separate volume of papers (as did also incidentally the Yugoslavs), and the Russians showered the Congress with brochures on a wide range of subjects. A counterblast from the Historical Society of the Poles Abroad appeared as Volume II of *Antemurale*.

With characteristic taste and energy, the Italian committee (Giunta centrale per gli studi storici) had exploited the Roman setting to the full. On the first Sunday at six the Sindaco of Rome offered a reception to the Congress as a whole in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Campidoglio, and the visitors had not only an opportunity to see the artistic riches in the building itself but also to witness from the terraces an unforgettable sunset over St. Peter's and the western reaches of the city. Various other receptions were offered to different groups of participants—by the president of the National Academy of the Lincei in the Villa della Farnesina; by Ambassador and Madame Bogomolov at the Soviet embassy for the heads of delegations and certain others; by Professor Frank M. Snowden, Jr., the cultural attaché of the American embassy, and Professors Lily Ross Taylor and Mason Hammond in the beautiful courtyard of the American Academy (for Americans and their friends). And there were various others—in fact the social life of the Congress was an active one indeed, and was greatly appreciated. This was definitely a friendly Congress, with frequent *détentes* from the otherwise vigorous pursuit of its more specific business. But in the midst of all this generous activity, the papal reception of Wednesday, September 7, was, by general agreement, the most impressive event of the series and the high point of the week.

His Holiness clearly intended to mark the importance of this occasion, appropriately falling just at the time when the Holy See was taking its place in the International Committee of the Historical Sciences. Instead of inviting the participants to Castel Gandolfo, the normal procedure in the hot summer months, the pope chose to come to Rome, to receive his guests with full pomp and circumstance (with seven cardinals and the diplomatic corps present), and to deliver a speech of some forty minutes in French, made available both in the *Osservatore romano* for September 9 and in a separate brochure for the members of the Congress. The speech is too involved to be analyzed here, but it dealt with the deep concern of the Church with history, the historical validation of the

Church's position, the relations of Church and state, the relations of the Church and "culture," and related problems. The pope received the members of the Congress in the impressive Aula della Benedizione in the Vatican. He entered at the eastern end and was carried the entire length of the great room in the Sedia Gestatoria, blessing the audience as he progressed, and then mounted the papal throne to deliver his speech. Following this he first received the members of the Bureau of the International Committee, the Executive Committee of the Giunta centrale, and certain others, speaking, as he is accustomed, to each in his own tongue, and presenting to each a papal medal. He then descended the throne, greeted each of the cardinals with obvious informality and friendliness, and was then once more carried the length of the Aula. After a brief greeting to the crowds in the Piazza of St. Peter's, he returned at once to Castel Gandolfo. A special illumination of the Sistine and Pauline Chapels offered a magnificent and unusual opportunity for the audience as it left the Aula.

The setting for the immediate business of the Congress was the Palazzo dei Congressi, a massive modern building erected by Mussolini as part of a complex which was intended to house the international exposition of 1943, which of course never took place. One element in this group will shortly be occupied by the Italian National Archives. The Palazzo itself was exceptionally well suited to the business in hand. It has an immense foyer and central court, the latter with numerous comfortable seats: there was, in short, adequate space and opportunity for those individual encounters which are so central a part of such a congress. The Aula Magna, with a capacity of about eight hundred, was somewhat too small for the initial meeting. The second floor of the Palazzo had an ample number of rooms of varying size for the delivery of papers, although a system of loudspeakers would have remedied the acoustic shortcomings of some of the larger ones. The first floor had a bar, bank, telephone, telegraph, press facilities, etc. The great height of the ceilings in the public rooms rendered them quite comfortable even during the heat of the first few days, which was followed by rains and cooling. There was a good restaurant nearby. Participants came to and from Rome by special buses; the twenty-five-minute trip to the center of Rome was a bit wearisome at times, but most agreed that the advantages offered by the Palazzo dei Congressi were full compensation for the inconvenience. Participants were concentrated in hotels in three different sectors of the city.

The meetings of the Congress proper occupied the eight days from September 4 to 11. At the initial plenary session on Sunday morning, September 4, the Congress was greeted by the Italian minister of public instruction, the mayor of Rome, Jean Thomas of UNESCO and Robert Fawtier, retiring president of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. It also heard an address by Aldo Ferrabino, president of the Giunta centrale per gli studi storici, on "Freedom and History."

For the scientific work of the Congress, the Bureau had chosen two instru-

ments: the "report" and the "communication." The report, an extended paper on a historical subject of capital importance, had been first adopted for the Paris Congress, with the notion primarily that the long hiatus of the war should be followed by statements, necessarily strongly bibliographical, of interim developments in each field. For this Congress the problem was different: important themes covering the whole of the world's history and significant contemporary problems of historiography and methodology were chosen for the reports, but, with few exceptions, it was intended that the emphasis should not be bibliographical but rather on key problems and on questions of frontier interest. In both instances the reports were published in advance of the Congress and were to be discussed, not read at the meetings. At the Rome Congress, the morning sessions were devoted to the reports, sumptuously published in advance by the Italian committee in six volumes. These were to have been issued in April, to allow adequate study in advance. It should be said that the reports prepared by Americans were all in the hands of the Italian committee by early December, 1954, but the latter was less fortunate with certain individual rapporteurs from other countries, so that the volumes of reports were finally mailed only in July and then only to those who registered early. Publication of the reports and synopses of the papers makes it unnecessary here to discuss them at length.¹

By general agreement, the reports and the discussions thereof varied greatly in quality, from those which etched out imaginatively the central problems and key directions for a given field to those which were largely descriptive, narrative, and bibliographical. American rapporteurs and their subjects included the following (there were some thirty-three reports prepared in all for these morning sessions): Miss Helen M. Cam with A. Marongiu and G. Stöckl: "Recent Work and Present Views on the Origins and Developments of Representative Assemblies"; R. R. Palmer with J. Godechot: "Le problème de l'Atlantique du xviii^e au xx^e siècle"; R. S. Lopez, with G. Bognetti and others: "Rapporti fra Oriente e Occidente durante l'alto Medioevo"; Gaines Post, with Ch. Perrat and others: "Paléographie et diplomatique"; Owen Lattimore: "The Frontier in History"; Oscar Handlin: "The Central Themes of American History"; Arthur P. Whitaker, with Ots Capdequi and R. A. Humphreys: "Sobre la historia de la colonización española"; T. C. Cochran: "History and the Social Sciences"; J. K. Fairbank (and an American committee): "The Influence of Modern Western Science and Technology on Japan and China."

Among the other reports, those which evoked wide discussion were the following: R. Mousnier and F. Hartung: "Quelques problèmes concernant la monarchie absolue"; H. Jedin, E. J. Léonard, J. Orcibal: "L'idée de l'église au xvi^e et xvii^e siècles"; M. Toscano: "Origini e vicende diplomatiche della seconda guerra

¹ The volumes of reports and papers thus far printed are: *Relazioni*, Vols. I-V (reports); Vol. VI, *Relazioni generali e supplementi*; Vol. VII, *Riassunti delle comunicazioni*. They are edited by the Giunta centrale per gli studi storici and published by G. C. Sansoni of Florence.

mondiale"; F. Braudel, R. Portal, P. Leuilliot, F. C. Spooner, T. S. Ashton, J. Vidalenc: "Commerce et industrie en Europe du xvr^e au xviii^e siècle"; E. Labrousse: "Voies nouvelles vers une histoire de la bourgeoisie occidentale au xviii^e et au xix^e siècles (1700-1850)"; P. Johansen, M. Postan, A. Saporì, C. Verlinden: "L'économie européenne au derniers siècles du moyen âge"; D. Cantimori, E. F. Jacob: "La periodizzazione dell'età del Rinascimento nella storia d'Italia e in quella d'Europa"; R. Aubert, J. B. Duroselle, A. Jemolo: "Le libéralisme religieux au xix^e siècle."

At the afternoon sessions, running from five or five-thirty until about eight as a concession to the Roman heat, "communications" of twenty minutes each, followed by discussion, were presented, in much the same general form as those shorter papers which come before the annual meeting of the American Historical Association.² As always, these papers, which were related in a general way to the subjects of the morning reports, varied greatly in interest, quality, and length. They were also very unevenly attended: many Congressists were too fatigued after the morning sessions to return, were diverted by the multiple interests of Rome, or were distracted by some "prima donna" who drew a large audience perhaps through sheer curiosity.

American scholars who gave papers included the following (a substantial number of others, whose papers had earlier been accepted by the American committee and the Bureau, had subsequently dropped out for one reason or another): Franklin Ford: "The City of Strasbourg and Representative Institutions"; Caroline Robbins: "Why the English Parliament Survived the Age of Absolutism—Some Contemporary Opinions—Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries"; Carl W. Blegen: "Troy, a Retrospective Survey"; Homer A. Thompson: "Agora and Forum"; G. Vernadsky: "Serfdom in Russia"; O. Halecki: "The Idea of the Church in Eastern Europe after the Council of Trent"; Hans Kohn: "France between Britain and Germany, 1815-1848"; Shepard B. Clough: "Prolegomena to a Study of the Diffusion of Industry since the End of the Eighteenth Century"; Jeannette P. Nichols: "International Financial Relations as a Factor in Contemporary Diplomacy"; John Hope Franklin: "Sectionalism and the American Historian"; Friedrich Engel-Janosi: "La Minorité au Concile du Vatican, 1869-1870"; Richard Pipes: "Russian Absolutism: Its Nineteenth Century Apologists"; John S. Curtiss: "Liberalism in the Russian Church in the Early Years of the Twentieth Century"; H. Stuart Hughes: "The Decade of the 1890's in European Thought"; Bernadotte Schmitt: "July, 1914: Unfinished Business"; Henry C. Meyer: "Drang-nach-Osten, 1860-1914: Myth or Mission?" It should also be noted that a number of Americans were presidents or vice-presidents of various sessions.

The final plenary session on Sunday evening, September 11, once again drew

² There were something over 150 papers presented at the regular meetings of the Congress, 32 others presented under the auspices of the various commissions.

an audience which a little more than filled the Aula Magna, used for the first and last general meeting. Unlike the final session at Paris, which was very brief and limited solely to the usual concluding ceremonies, this meeting ran to nearly three hours and included extended comments by each of four authors of general printed reports: A. Momigliano: "On the Present State of Studies in Ancient History"; F. Vercauteren (for whom a substitute spoke): "General Report on Works on the Middle Ages from 1945 to 1954"; G. Ritter: "Responsibilities, Problems, and Tasks of International Historical Writing on Modern History (16th-18th Centuries)"; P. Renouvin: "The Present Orientation of Works of Contemporary History." These summing-up papers will be printed. As so often happens, certain ones of this distinguished group had been unable to restrain their enthusiasm and had prepared comments exceeding both the time allotted and the patience of their colleagues. Paul Harsin of Belgium said a brief and stirring final word of thanks to all those responsible for the preparation and working out of the Congress.

In addition to the "main tent," there were various "small congresses" organized by different ones of the commissions: the International Commission of Ecclesiastical History, the International Commission of Slavic Studies, and, most elaborate of all, the International Commission for the History of the Assemblies of Estates, which ran for two full days. All of the sessions under commission auspices took place on the Friday and Saturday before the Congress proper opened.

The Bureau of the International Committee had meetings on September 1, 2, and 11. The Bureau is the planning and general policy-framing body of the International Committee, although most of its decisions must be ratified by the Assembly (two members from each participating state³), which accordingly held meetings on September 2 and, after the Bureau, on September 11. Through these two organs the Congress made a series of important decisions.

After Sweden and the USSR had both invited the Congress to meet in their respective countries in 1960, the Soviet delegation was persuaded to yield to the Swedes, who had similarly yielded to the Italians in 1950. Hence the Congress of 1960 will meet in Stockholm. In turn the Soviets were awarded the meeting of the Assembly in 1957, which will take place in Moscow (the Assembly regularly meets the year of the Congress and two years thereafter). The invitation of the Austrians to have the Congress meet in Vienna in 1965, six hundredth anniversary of the founding of the University of Vienna, was warmly welcomed but declared premature for final decision at this time. The Swedish committee has expressed a desire to simplify the Congress in various directions, particularly with respect to the voluminous character of the reports.

Russian was accepted as a sixth official language of the Congress, at the urgent

³ American members of the assembly are Donald McKay and Boyd Shafer. The first is also a member of the Bureau.

request of the Soviet delegation. A request for the use of Russian had been similarly accepted for the Fifth Congress which was to have met in St. Petersburg in 1918. It soon became clear, however, that the Russian delegates were concerned here primarily with a question of principle: with rare exceptions, their participants used one of the other five official languages, so that the work of the Congress would be expedited.

In the election of the Bureau for the coming five years, it became clear that a representative from eastern Europe must be included in response to the impressive return of the countries of this region to an active status. A new position of "assessor" on the Bureau can only be created by the Assembly through amendment of the statutes when two months' notice has been given. Accordingly, the place occupied for the last five-year term by a Latin-American representative was made available for a Soviet delegate, and the Assembly of 1957 will be asked to create a new assessorship, which could then be assigned to a representative of Latin America. The new Bureau includes the following re-elected members: Sir Charles Webster (Great Britain) and Nils Ahnlund (Sweden), vice-presidents; Michel François (France), secretary-general; Louis Junod (Switzerland), treasurer; Heinrich F. Schmid (Austria) and Donald C. McKay (United States), assessors; Halvdan Koht (Norway), Waldo Leland (United States), Hans Nabholz (Switzerland), councillors (former presidents). Newly elected were: Federico Chabod (Italy), president; I. J. Brugmans (Netherlands), Gerhard Ritter (Germany), Madame A. M. Pankratova (USSR), assessors; Robert Fawtier (France), councillor. Professor Chabod is director of the Istituto italiano di studi storici (Croce Institute) in Naples and professor of history in the University of Rome. He has been an assessor and a most active member of the Bureau during the past three years, and he has been the driving force in the Italian committee which made all the local arrangements for the Congress. Mme. Pankratova was the leader of the Soviet delegation to the Congress.

The Assembly heard proposals for the admission as members of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, and Albania. It was pointed out that these requests must be submitted directly to the Bureau by the properly constituted historical authorities within each of these countries. The Assembly also approved a new "règlement" for the various commissions of the Congress which provided for further co-ordination of their work by the Bureau.

Two additional international organizations were affiliated with the International Committee: the Unione degli Istituti d'archeologia, di storia, e di storia delle arte in Rome and the Association humanisme et Renaissance. The president presented to the Assembly the first volume of the *Répertoire des travaux historiques parus en volumes de "Mélanges"* (1880-1939)—*Festschriften*, not including the American, which are to appear later, the completion of which was undertaken since the war by Professor Nabholz, former president of the International Committee.

The next meeting of the Bureau has been fixed for Madrid in the summer of 1956. The principal item on its agenda will be consideration of the reactions of the various national committees to the Congress of 1955, as guidance for the planning of the Congress of 1960. Each national committee is to file a detailed statement of its views by early spring, 1956. In the case of the United States this will be prepared, probably at a special session held during the American Historical Association meetings in December, 1955, by the Committee on International Historical Activities, which has specific responsibility for the Association's relations with the International Committee. In any case, it is scarcely too early to suggest to members of the Association that they begin to think forward to 1960, in terms of a possible scientific contribution to the Stockholm Congress, and in terms of plans, sabbatical or other, which will bring them to Europe at that time.

Harvard University

DONALD C. MCKAY

American Historical Association

Competition is open for the following prizes, to be offered by the American Historical Association at the 1956 annual meeting. Please address all correspondence to the appropriate committee chairman: *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize* (\$200) for a monograph, in manuscript or in print, in the field of European history. Work must be submitted by June 1, and the committee chairman is Francis Bowman, University of Southern California, Los Angeles. *George Louis Beer Prize* (about \$200), for the best work, in print or manuscript, on European international history since 1895. Work must be submitted by June 1; the committee chairman is Sinclair Armstrong, Brown University, Providence, R. I. *Albert J. Beveridge Award* (\$1,000 plus royalty of five per cent after cost of publication; publication for honorable mention), for the best complete original manuscript (50,000-125,000 words) in English on American history (United States, Canada, and Latin America). The manuscript must be the author's first or second work and must be submitted, in legible ribbon copy, before May 1. The chairman of the committee is Ralph W. Hidy, New York University. *John H. Dunning Prize* (ca. \$140), for a monograph, in print or manuscript, on any subject relating to American history. Work must be submitted by June 1, and the chairman is Francis Simkins, Longwood College, Farmville, Va. *Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize* (\$100), awarded by the Taraknath Das Foundation for the best work in the field of British and British imperial and Commonwealth history written by an American citizen. Four copies of the work must be submitted by July 1, and the chairman is John B. Brebner, Columbia University. *Watumull Prize* (\$500), for the best work on the history of India originally published in the United States. Three copies of the work must be submitted by September 15, and the chairman is Taraknath Das, Columbia University.

A new *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at Colleges and Universities in the United States* has been published. It contains all doctoral dissertations listed as in progress as of October, 1955. Copies may be obtained from the Association office at \$1.50 per copy.

Other Historical Activities

The Library of Congress has received, as a gift of the heirs of Theodore J. Pickett, a collection of some 25,000 manuscripts dating from 1777 to 1916. Most of these are business records of the claims agency established about 1825 by James H. Causten, of Baltimore and Washington, and carried on, after Mr. Causten's death in 1874, by Col. John T. Pickett. This segment contains an extensive correspondence of the Causten agency, which concentrated on the handling of French spoliation claims; it includes, as well, many earlier documents assembled in support of these claims, among them a large group of papers of Fulwar Skipwith, consul general of the United States in France during the last years of the eighteenth century, and records of various American merchants engaged at that time in trade with France. The collection also contains personal papers of Colonel Pickett and of his son, Theodore.

The papers of Lt. Gen. Robert Lee Bullard, numbering about 1,450 pieces, have been presented to the Library by Mrs. Bullard. They include correspondence, diaries, notebooks, and scrapbooks, which, as a whole, cover the period from 1899 to 1944 and concern General Bullard's military service in the Philippines and Cuba, on the Mexican border in 1915-1916 and during World War I, as well as his activities following his retirement in 1925.

The papers of the late literary historian and editor, Frederick Lewis Allen (1890-1954), have been given to the Library by Mrs. Allen. Numbering about 5,000 pieces, the collection consists of correspondence, diaries, memorandum books, and notes for, and drafts of, chapters of his principal books and of various uncompleted works. In the latter category there are materials for a biography of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and for a study of the American tradition. The series of diaries and memorandum books includes a volume for each year from 1933 to 1954. The correspondence, covering a wide range of interests, dates from 1913 to 1953. Among Mr. Allen's correspondents were James B. Conant, Vera M. Dean, Bernard DeVoto, Walter Lippmann, Milo Perkins, Laurence McKinney, George Pfeiffer, and DeWitt Wallace.

Smaller groups of material received by the Library include a series of thirty-seven letters and telegrams addressed to Francis Amasa Walker from 1878 to 1896, which relate principally to bimetallism; thirteen letterbooks (press copies) of Lyman Judson Gage, Secretary of the Treasury in President McKinley's administration, covering the years from 1897 to 1906; and, through the courtesy of Doubleday and Company, Inc., the working materials used in Hugh Gibson's

edition (1946) of Count Galeazzo Ciano's diaries from 1939 to 1943, which include photostats of most of the original diaries for those years.

Recent legislation (Public Law 373, 84 Congress, 1 session, August 12, 1955) by the Congress of the United States gives the Administrator of General Services authority to accept presidential papers and land, buildings, and equipment. Libraries donated will become "Presidential archival depositories maintained as part of the National Archives system. The core of each library will be the papers of the former President in whose name the donation is made. The Harry S. Truman Library at Independence, Missouri, is expected to be the first donated under the new legislation. Plans are under way for an Eisenhower Library to be erected at Abilene, Kansas. The presidential libraries will be field branches of the National Archives and will receive for deposit copies of all microfilm and other publications of the National Archives. Papers donated to such libraries presumably will be open for scholarly research in the same manner as those now in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. On the Truman Library Advisory Committee are: Wayne C. Grover, National Archives; Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minnesota; Henry Steele Commager, Columbia University; Clarence R. Decker, former president of the University of Kansas City; Elmer Ellis, University of Missouri; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Harvard University; Earl J. McGrath, University of Kansas; Franklin D. Murphy, University of Kansas; and Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association.

The editors of the papers of Alexander Hamilton (see *AHR*, October, 1955, p. 246) wish to locate any letters to or from Hamilton and any other Hamilton documents that are in private hands. Any information on the whereabouts and availability of such documents will be greatly appreciated. Address communications to Harold C. Syrett, Executive Editor, Papers of Alexander Hamilton, Columbia University, New York 27, N. Y.

Part II of *Microfilms of the Adams Papers Owned by the Adams Manuscript Trust and Deposited in the Massachusetts Historical Society* has recently been published by the society. It lists briefly the contents of the Adams microfilm reels, numbers 89 to 179. These reels, of which thirty-five pertain to John Adams, are devoted to the letterbooks of John, Abigail, John Quincy, and Charles Francis. The last two reels contain John Quincy Adams' "Index to Letters Received," Great Britain, 1861-1866.

As part of the forthcoming Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration to be observed in 1957, a colonial records project to locate, list, and microfilm Virginia's colonial records in British depositories and elsewhere has been established. William J. Van Schreeven of the Virginia State Library, Richmond, is chairman of the subcommittee in charge of the project.

The Historical Society of Montana is microfilming files of the *Helena Herald*

(1866-1902) and its forerunner, the *Montana Radiator* (1865-1866). Those interested in the project, and in what issues of the above newspapers are included, may obtain further information from Richard B. Duffy, microfilm supervisor, Historical Society of Montana, Helena.

The following "Preliminary Inventories" have recently been issued by the National Archives: No. 85, *Cartographic Records of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations*, compiled by Charlotte M. Ashby; No. 86, *Records of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor*, compiled by Hardee Allen; No. 87, *Records of the Office of the Pardon Attorney*, compiled by Gaiselle Kerner; No. 88, *Records of the American War Production Mission in China*, compiled by John E. Maddox; No. 89, *Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace*, compiled by H. Stephen Helton.

Reader's Guide I, an 81-page pamphlet recently published by the Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, provides a brief analytical description of each of the twenty-five volumes thus far in print of the "United States Army in World War II" series. Further interim guides will appear as more volumes are published, and the army plans to issue a complete master index when all the contemplated eighty-five volumes in the series have been completed. *Reader's Guide I* is on sale at the Government Printing Office for 50 cents.

The Naval History Division of the Navy Department has prepared a *Naval Chronology, World War II* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1955, pp. vii, 214, \$1.75). Although it is not a chronology of all the operations of World War II, it also includes by necessity much upon the operations of the U. S. Army and of other navies. For historians of World War II the *Chronology* will be an invaluable reference volume.

The *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, which resumed publication after World War II only in 1950, published its jubilee volume as a double number, L-LI, in July, 1955. The new editorial policy of Dr. Otto Schottenloher, who assumed responsibility with Volume XLIX, is evident: greater emphasis upon theory and practice of archival administration with a corresponding reduction in space devoted to articles on German history; a wider range of authorship, now less restricted to Bavaria or Germany than it formerly was; a new section, reports on professional periodicals and new publications. This change does not diminish interest for historians. Volume XLIX contains reviews of new inventories of important archives and articles of general interest. Volume L contains, besides studies of institutions (e.g., National Archives of the United States) and practices (e.g., differentiation of activities between archives, libraries, and collections of manuscripts), extensive reports on historical sources (e.g., edition of Byzantine documents on Mt. Athos, the letters of privilege for Basel, archival material relating to Goethe), a quantity of references to recent publications primarily of historical interest, and a thirty-

page summary of the contents of archival journals, much of which is concerned with the substance of archives. Single numbers cost DM 20 (18 on subscription), double numbers DM 40 (36 on subscription) and are available from Karl Zink Verlag, Munich.

Colonial Williamsburg has established the Williamsburg Award to be made, "as occasion warrants, to a person who in the course of contemporary events has made an outstanding contribution to the historic struggle of men to live free and self-respecting in a just society. If circumstances require, it may be made jointly to two or more persons. It will carry an honorarium of \$10,000 and an appropriate emblem. The only limitation on eligibility for the Award will be clear and eminent achievement. Recipients may be natives of any land, reside in any country, work at any occupation, be members of any race."

The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, announces that competition for its 1955 book prize is now open for books published in the period January 1–December 31, 1955, in the field of early American history and culture. This field embraces all phases of American history to about 1815, including the borderlands of the British North American colonies and the British colonies in the West Indies to 1776. The prize is \$500, and all types of work except fiction are eligible. Announcement of the award will be made in May, 1956. To be considered for the prize, books should be submitted to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia, not later than March 1, 1956.

A short-term research program on the history of the Communist party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) has been inaugurated by a committee consisting of Merle Fainsod, Harvard University, Harold H. Fisher, Hoover Institute and Library, Philip E. Mosely, New York, and Geroid T. Robinson, Columbia University, with the financial support of the Ford Foundation. Alfred G. Meyer is the director of the program. The committee is able to offer a limited number of modest grants in aid of research to academically trained persons and other persons who, by their previous research, have demonstrated a high level of competence in this field of investigation. Requests for application forms and other correspondence should be addressed to: Research Program on the History of the CPSU, 401 West 118th Street, New York 27, N. Y.

An annual award of \$250 has been established by Henry and Ida Schuman of New York for an original essay in the history of science and its cultural influences. This competition is open to undergraduate and graduate students in any American or Canadian college, university, or institute of technology. Papers submitted should be approximately 5,000 words in length, exclusive of footnotes, and thoroughly documented. It is hoped that the winning essay will be suitable for publication in *Isis*, the journal of the History of Science Society. To be eligible,

papers must be received by June 1, 1956, and the announcement of the winner will be made at the annual meeting of the History of Science Society in December. Address papers, and inquiries for further information, to Professor Charles C. Gillispie, Department of History, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

Among the ninety-one recipients of awards granted for 1955-1956 by the Southern Fellowships Fund are the following teachers of history in southern institutions of higher education: John P. Bloom, Brenau College; George H. Callcott, Longwood College; Edward L. Cannan, Jr., University of Texas; Betty B. Eakle, Southwest Texas State Teachers College; Ruth E. Grun, Woman's College, University of North Carolina; C. Joe Holland, University of Oklahoma; Henry G. McWhiney, Jr., Troy State (Alabama) Teachers College; Howard F. Mahan, University of Alabama; James A. Moncure, University of Richmond; Marguerite Potter, Texas Christian University; May S. Ringold, University of Georgia (Atlanta Division); Frank W. Ryan, Jr., The Citadel; Samuel T. Schroetter, Jr., University of Virginia; Lowry P. Ware, Erskine College.

At the instigation of Professor Lawrence H. Gipson of Lehigh University a group of American colonial historians met at Columbia University on April 23 to consider what kind of organization should be formed to satisfy their needs and interests. The planning committee met again in September and made recommendations, the gist of which was that the organization be called the Conference on Early American History, be informal, and that the Institute of Early American History and Culture should serve as the clearinghouse for information about the activities of the Conference through its *News Letter*. (Address inquiries and news to the Director of the Institute, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Va.) At their April meeting the historians held a panel discussion on "New Approaches to Research in Early American History." Participants were Frederick B. Tolles, Bernhard Knollenberg, and Richard B. Morris. Their second meeting, held in December at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, included talks by Edwin Wolf on the Library Company and G. L. Haskins on colonial law.

The American Numismatic Society's fourth summer seminar in numismatics was held at its museum in New York June 21 to August 27, 1955. The seminar was attended by twelve students from nine universities. The seminar will be repeated in the summer of 1956, and the society will again offer grants-in-aid to students who will have completed at least one year's graduate study by June, 1956, in archaeology, classics, economics, history, history of art, Oriental languages, and other humanistic fields. This offer is restricted to students or junior instructors at universities in the United States and Canada. Further information and application forms may be obtained from the office of the society, Broadway between 155th and 156th Streets, New York 32, N. Y. Completed applications for the grants must be filed by March 1, 1956.

Twenty-six historians gathered at the University of Kansas August 14-25 for a conference on "The Nature and Writing of History." Among the lecturers were Professors James C. Malin, Thomas LeDuc, and Robert E. Brown.

A New England Seminar on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe was held at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, June 18-21, 1955. Attended by eighty people, it was concerned with the "problem of bringing expert opinion on international questions to influential citizens."

The *Voprosy istorii*, No. 6 (June) 1955, pp. 179-86, published an article by E. B. Cherniak on the American Historical Association. It, for the most part, attacks both the Association and the *Review*. The article is translated in the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. VII, No. 27, August 17, 1955.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

Three historians are among the visiting professors appointed by the John Hay Whitney Foundation for 1955-1956. Paul Knaplund of the University of Wisconsin is serving at Wells College, Clair Francis Littell of Cornell College is at Hollins College, and Avery O. Craven of the University of Chicago is at Richmond University Center, Richmond, Virginia.

Arthur Bestor of the University of Illinois has been appointed Harmsworth professor of history at Oxford University for the academic year 1956-1957.

Richard W. Van Alstyne of the University of Southern California will give the Commonwealth Fund Lectures in American History at University College, London, January-February, 1956. The general subject of the eight lectures will be "The Rising American Empire."

Catherine Strateman Sims has been promoted to professor of history and political science in Agnes Scott College.

David C. Riede has been appointed instructor in history in the University of Akron.

John J. Schroeder has been appointed assistant professor of social studies at Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Indiana.

Donald N. Bigelow, formerly of Columbia University, has gone to Brandeis University as associate professor of history.

¹In the interests of saving space, the *Review's* policy is not to print personals concerning summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations. The *Review* will continue to print news of appointments, promotions, and retirements.

Barnaby C. Keeney has been named president of Brown University. He succeeds Henry M. Wriston, who has retired as president emeritus.

At the Riverside campus of the University of California Robert V. Hine and James B. Parsons have been promoted to assistant professors of history.

David F. Long of the University of New Hampshire has been awarded a Fulbright lectureship in American history at the University of Ceylon for 1956-1957.

Charles L. Anger has been promoted to professor of history at The Citadel and named chairman of the department.

William C. Askew has been promoted to professor of history in Colgate University.

Jacques Barzun, professor of history in Columbia University, has been appointed dean of the graduate faculties. Henry L. Roberts has been promoted to associate professor of history in Columbia University and put in charge of the program of East Central European studies. Jordan Kurland, formerly of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has been appointed administrative assistant at the Russian Institute of Columbia University.

At Dartmouth College Allen R. Foley has been granted sabbatical leave for the first semester 1955-1956 and H. W. Hill and J. R. Williams for the second semester. Stephen B. Baxter has been appointed instructor in English and European history for the current year.

At the University of Delaware, Walther Kirchner has been promoted to professor of history and granted leave for the year to accept appointment as a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. Donald L. Kinzer, formerly of the University of Washington, has been appointed instructor in history at Delaware.

At DePauw University John J. Baughman and Clifton J. Phillips have been promoted to assistant professors of history and Dwight L. Ling has been appointed instructor.

Joseph Steelman has been appointed a member of the social studies department at East Carolina College.

Max Guyer, formerly of Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, has joined the staff of Emmetsburg (Iowa) Junior College.

John Brown Mason has gone to the University of Florida as visiting professor of political science for the current academic year.

Irving A. Hamilton has been appointed assistant professor of history in Furman University.

William Waddy Moore has accepted an appointment on the history staff of Gardner-Webb College.

At Gettysburg College Seymour B. Dunn, formerly of Hobart College, has been appointed dean of the college and professor of history, and Robert L. Bloom has been promoted to associate professor of history.

At Harvard University Paul H. Buck has been named Francis Lee Higginson professor of history and director of the University Library, and V. O. Key, Jr., has been named Jonathan Trumbull professor of American history and government. Robert L. Wolff has been promoted to professor of history.

Harvey Wish of Western Reserve University has been appointed Carnegie visiting professor in history at the University of Hawaii for the second semester of 1955-1956.

At the University of Houston Corinne C. Weston has been promoted to associate professor of history. Charles A. Bacarisse and Jack A. Haddick have been appointed assistant professors and Raymond A. Esthus instructor in history.

Fred H. Winkler, formerly of the University of North Dakota, has been appointed instructor in history and political science at the University of Idaho.

At the State University of Iowa Eugen Weber has been appointed assistant professor of history, and Robert Leard is serving as visiting assistant professor of history.

Benjamin N. Nelson has recently been appointed associate editor of the *Journal of the History of Ideas*. He is currently on leave from the department of general studies of the University of Minnesota.

Harold Schwartz, formerly of the Army Engineers Historical Division, Baltimore, has joined the staff of the department of history in Kent State University, Ohio.

Paul Bernstein has been appointed associate professor of history at Lock Haven State Teachers College, Lock Haven, Pennsylvania.

William R. Trimble, formerly of the University of Tennessee, has been appointed assistant professor of English history in Loyola University, Chicago.

Perez Zagorin has been appointed assistant professor of history in McGill University, Montreal.

Thomas H. Reynolds, professor and chairman of the department of history emeritus at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, has gone to McKendree College, Lebanon, Illinois, as professor of history.

Raymond Wolf Albright, professor of church history in the Episcopal Theo-

logical School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, will be on sabbatical leave during the spring term to serve as Fulbright lecturer at the University of Marburg.

Gerald S. Brown, Sidney Fine, and John W. Hall have been promoted to associate professors of history in the University of Michigan, and Richard S. Dunn and Edward Lurie have been appointed instructors in history.

Norma Adams and Peter Viereck have been promoted to professors of history in Mount Holyoke College. During the current year Professor Viereck is on a Fulbright fellowship at the University of Florence, where he is lecturing in a newly founded chair in American culture.

Julius W. Pratt of the University of Buffalo has been awarded a Fulbright lectureship at Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich, Germany, for the academic year 1956-1957.

Jere C. King of the University of California at Los Angeles has been granted a leave of absence for 1955-1956 to enable him to serve as a civilian faculty member at the National War College in Washington, D. C.

Lawson Pendleton has been appointed assistant professor of history in the College of the New Church.

At New York University Wallace K. Ferguson, William A. Salomone, and Henry Noss are on sabbatical leave for the current year. Marshall W. Baldwin has been promoted to professor of history and Minna R. Falk to associate professor. Two regional specialists have been appointed by New York University's Institute of Public Affairs and Regional Studies: Hubert Ripka, former professor of history in Charles University and minister of foreign trade in Czechoslovakia before 1948, who will teach political history of East Central Europe and Russia since the eighteenth century; and Samuel S. Rizzo, Brazilian historian and philosopher, who will teach the history of Brazil.

At the University of North Carolina J. Carlyle Sitterson has been named dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and Cecil Johnson dean of the General College.

Richard N. Current, formerly of the University of Illinois, became chairman of the department of history and political science at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina on September 1. At the same college Louise B. Alexander has been promoted to the rank of professor.

At the University of Notre Dame Matthew A. Fitzsimons and William O. Shanahan have been promoted to professors of history and Bernard P. Norling to assistant professor.

David Lindsey is on leave from Baldwin-Wallace College for the current year and is serving as acting associate professor of history in Oberlin College.

At Ohio University Carl G. Gustavson is serving as acting chairman of the department of history while John F. Cady is in Burma on Fulbright and Guggenheim awards. Charles R. Mayes has been promoted to assistant professor, and George H. Lobdell has been appointed assistant professor of history.

Gilbert Fite has succeeded Alfred B. Sears as chairman of the department of history in the University of Oklahoma. Professor Sears continues in the department.

At Oregon State College, Corvallis, Joseph W. Ellison, professor and chairman of the department of history, has gone to Tokyo University to lecture during the current academic year on a Fulbright grant. Leonard Allen Adolph is substituting for him. Francis Shaw has been appointed assistant professor of history at Oregon State.

Robert E. Carlson has been promoted to assistant professor of history in the University of Pittsburgh.

John I. Knudson has retired as Charles S. Baylis professor of history and economics and head of the department in the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn.

John F. Stover has been promoted to associate professor of history at Purdue University.

Philip Thayer has been appointed assistant professor of history in Randolph-Macon College.

Lester F. Schmidt has been granted a leave of absence from Colorado State College to serve as lecturer in American civilization at Rutgers University during 1955-1956.

Clara Louise Kellogg has retired as professor and chairman of the department of history at Shorter College, Rome, Georgia, after thirty-eight years of service. Robert S. Lambert has been promoted to professor of history and chairman of the department. Allen Johnson has joined the department as assistant professor.

John D. Davies, assistant professor of American history at Smith College, has been granted leave of absence for the year 1955-1956, to be spent in Princeton, N. J. His place for the year will be taken by Arthur Mann of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

At the University of South Carolina Thomas C. Van Cleve of Bowdoin College joined the staff of the department of history as visiting professor for the fall term; Bernadotte E. Schmitt will serve in the same capacity for the 1956 spring term. Robert D. Ochs and Theodore Thayer will teach at Rutgers University and the University of South Carolina respectively under an exchange arrangement for the spring term.

At the University of Southern California Arthur R. Kooker has been promoted to professor of history and named chairman of the department, succeeding Donald W. Rowland, who continues in the department. T. Walter Wallbank has been awarded a Rockefeller grant to complete a research project on recent Indian and Pakistani history and has been given leave to go abroad until March, 1956.

Joseph C. Kiger has been appointed assistant director of the Southern Fellowships Fund.

W. Magruder Drake has been appointed assistant professor of history in Southwestern Louisiana Institute.

Howard S. Greenlee, formerly of Simpson College, has gone to Southwestern University as associate dean of the college of arts and sciences and a member of the department of history.

John Hague has been appointed assistant professor of American studies and director of the American studies program in Stetson University, DeLand, Florida.

Edward B. Jones has been appointed assistant professor of history in Stratford College.

Robert J. Rayback and Harry H. Pierce have been promoted to associate professors of history in Syracuse University.

John W. Martin has been appointed associate professor of history in Tennessee Wesleyan College.

At Texas Technological College Seymour V. Connor has joined the staff as archivist of the Southwest Collection and associate professor of history. Lawrence L. Graves and David M. Vigness have been appointed assistant professors of history.

William J. Griffith and John P. Dyer have been promoted to professors of history and Philip F. Detweiler and Thomas L. Karnes to assistant professors in Tulane University.

William B. Bristol and James W. Morley have been promoted to associate professors of history in Union College, and David H. Stauffer has been appointed assistant professor of history.

Charles A. Johnson, formerly of the department of history of the University of Maryland, has accepted an appointment with the United States Information Agency as cultural affairs officer and has been assigned to a post at New Delhi.

George Mercer Brooks has been promoted to associate professor in Virginia Military Institute.

At Wayne University Stephen Fisher-Galati has been appointed assistant

professor of history; Edwin Hall, George Rudisill, and Hayden White have been appointed instructors.

Houston G. Jones has been appointed professor of history and chairman of the division of the social sciences at West Georgia College, Carrollton.

Grace E. Thompson has been appointed instructor in history in Western College for Women, Oxford, Ohio.

Paul S. Smith, chairman of the department of history in Whittier College for twenty-nine years, has been named president of the college. Harry Nerhood has been appointed to succeed him as chairman of the department.

Walter J. Brunhumer has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of history in the University of Wichita.

Lawrence William Towner, formerly of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has gone to Williamsburg, Virginia, as associate editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly* and associate professor of history in the College of William and Mary. James Morton Smith, formerly of Ohio State University, has been appointed editor of book publications at the Institute of Early American History and Culture, and Wilcomb Edward Washburn, instructor in history in the college, has been appointed research associate at the institute.

E. McClung Fleming, formerly professor of history and dean of the college in Park College, Missouri, has joined the staff of the Henry Francis DuPont Winterthur Museum as head of the educational program.

R. John Rath of the University of Texas is teaching at the University of Wisconsin during the first semester of the year 1955-1956.

Edmund S. Morgan, formerly of Brown University, has been appointed professor of history in Yale University.

RECENT DEATHS

Laurence Bradford Packard, Anson D. Morse professor of history at Amherst College, died suddenly at his home in Amherst on January 14, 1955, a few days short of his sixty-eighth birthday. Professor Packard was born in Brockton, Massachusetts. He received his A.B. from Harvard in 1909, his Ph.D. in 1921. During the First World War his service included assignment, in military intelligence, with the American Expedition to Siberia.

Though he had abundant gifts as both scholar and writer, Professor Packard chose to devote himself almost completely to undergraduate teaching. This led to his editorship (with others) of the *Berkshire Studies in European History*, widely used in college courses; he himself was the author of two of its more successful volumes. For some years he was active in the affairs of the Association. He was

the chairman of the committee which arranged a notable program for the annual meeting in Rochester in 1926, and from 1937 to 1941 served as an elected member of the Council.

Save for numerous appointments as lecturer or as visiting professor, his teaching was confined to two institutions—the University of Rochester, 1913–1925, and Amherst College, after 1925. His impact was extraordinary. More than one half of the living alumni of Amherst took his introductory course in European history; and his advanced courses in the world war (later two world wars), the age of Louis XIV, and the Far East, were very widely elected. An unusually large number of his students went on to graduate study in history. Sixteen of them, in November, 1954, presented to him a collection of essays entitled *Teachers of History*, reviewed in these columns last April. A *Festschrift* to honor an undergraduate teacher is rare indeed. In this case it was a fitting testimonial to the admiration and affection in which a great teacher was held by his students and by his colleagues.

Carl Coke Rister, noted historian of the Southwest, past president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and distinguished professor of history at Texas Technological College, died at Rotan, Texas, April 16, 1955. Professor Rister was a graduate of Hardin Simmons (B.A. 1915), George Washington University (M.A. 1920, Ph.D. 1925), and spent two summers in predoctoral research at the University of California (1921, 1922). He was elected to Phi Beta Kappa in 1941 at the University of Oklahoma and was awarded the honorary Litt.D. at Hardin Simmons in 1942. Dr. Rister was for twenty-two years a member of the history staff at the University of Oklahoma (1929–51) and research professor from 1945 to 1951. He also served on the summer faculties at the universities of Texas, Colorado, Missouri, Denver, and George Washington.

He was the author of twelve books: *The Southwestern Frontier, 1865–1881*; *The Greater Southwest*, with Rupert N. Richardson; *Southern Plainsmen*; *Border Captives*; *Western America*, with Louis R. Hafen; *Land Hunger*; *Baptist Missions among the American Indians*; *Border Command*; *Robert E. Lee in Texas*; *No Man's Land*; *Oil: Titan of the Southwest* (1950); *Comanche Bondage* (1954); a thirteenth, *The Fort Griffin Country*, was in manuscript and will be printed shortly.

In addition to membership in the Mississippi Valley Historical Association he was a member of the American Historical Association, the Society of American Historians, the Southwest Historical Association, the West Texas Historical Association, the Oklahoma Historical Society, the Westerners, and the Texas Institute of Letters. Professor Rister was an indefatigable scholar and conscientious writer, a man of high aims and upright character, a sincere friend of his associates and a patient counsellor of the many graduate students whose work he directed.

American medievalists have lost one of their best Italian friends in Vito A. Vitale, who died in Genoa in April, 1955. For several decades a teacher in that

university and in the Liceo Colombo and for as many the secretary, then the president, of the Genoese historical association (Società Ligure di storia patria), Professor Vitale was the first to whom strangers turned for an introduction to the archives, libraries, and other cultural institutions of his city. They were sure to obtain from him generous assistance and valuable advice. He was the chief Italian organizer (together with Professors Bognetti, Chiaudano, and Moresco) of the partnership between the Società Ligure and the University of Wisconsin, which has resulted in the publication of eleven volumes of Genoese notarial documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and is still in activity. Vitale's own work, apart from two early volumes on the medieval history of Bologna and Trani, is dedicated to all aspects of Genoese history, with special emphasis on the Napoleonic period and on medieval economic and social developments. Among his most important contributions are: *Onofrio Scassi e la vita genovese del suo tempo* (Genoa, 1932); *La diplomazia genovese* (Milan, 1941); *Vita e commercio nei notai genovesi dei secoli XII e XIII* (Genoa, 1949); *Il Comune del Podestà a Genova* (Milan, 1951). Shortly before his death Vitale was able to correct the proof of a two-volume general history of Genoa, with a very large bibliographic appendix, which is about to appear and which will be a lasting monument to his lifetime endeavor: *Breviario della storia di Genova*, to be published by the Società Ligure di storia patria, Palazzo Bianco, Genoa.

Louise Fargo Brown, professor emeritus of history at Vassar College, died in Norfolk, Virginia, on May 1, 1955. Miss Brown received her early schooling in the Buffalo schools and her B.A. degree from Cornell University in 1903. In 1905, she entered the graduate school at Cornell, and was twice awarded the Andrew White Travelling Fellowship. This gave her two years in Europe, the first at London and Oxford, the second in Basel, Zurich, and Geneva. An article based on the research of these years appeared in the *English Historical Review* while she was yet a graduate student. She received the Ph.D. from Cornell in 1909, and, except for a spring semester at Vassar in 1915, she was instructor in history at Wellesley from 1909 to 1915. During this period she completed her first book, *The Political Activities of the Baptists and the Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum*, a book which received the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize from the American Historical Association for the best monograph of the year in modern European history.

From 1915 to 1917 Miss Brown filled the post of dean of women and professor of history at the University of Nevada. She was at this post when America entered World War I in the spring of 1917, and left it to serve her country in Washington during World War I. Her pamphlet on *The Freedom of the High Seas* was sent in manuscript for use at the Paris Peace Conference. Miss Brown taught one semester at Vassar in 1915, and to Vassar she returned in 1919 for a long period of service which lasted until her retirement in 1944. During these years she published two additional books, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury* in 1933,

under the auspices of the American Historical Association, and *Apostle of Democracy: The Life of Lucy Maynard Salmon*, in 1943. Her work in England was recognized in her election as Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. In 1930 she was co-founder of the Berkshire Historical Conference, still a thriving organization of women historians.

Her interests and activities did not end with retirement. In 1948, in collaboration with George B. Carson, she published a European history text, *Men and Centuries of European Civilization*, a new approach in textbooks. And again, in 1954, re-entering the lists to do her bit in the contemporary struggle for what she held to be the inherent rights of the individual, she drew a lesson from history in an article entitled "Portrait of an Informer: A Seventeenth Century Moral," which appeared in the *Nation* in April, 1954. At the time of her death, she was at work on a study of the role of informers in English and early American history.

Miss Brown's colleagues at Vassar and her friends in the historical profession cherish the memory of her warm spirit and genial personality. They recall with admiration her lively intellectual curiosity and her integrity and courage in fighting for the things in which she believed. She was a gallant figure in historical circles.

Lt. Col. Granville T. Prior, professor and chairman of the department of history at The Citadel, Charleston, S. C., died June 23, 1955, at the age of forty-six. He received his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1947 and had taught at Elon College before joining The Citadel faculty in 1936.

Chauncey Samuel Boucher, retired chancellor of the University of Nebraska and retired professor of history at Knox College, died August 13, 1955, at Petoskey, Michigan, at the age of sixty-nine. From the University of Michigan he received the A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. in history. Beginning a successful teaching career as an instructor at the University of Michigan, he rose rapidly in his profession to hold in succession teaching positions in the departments of history at Washington University, Ohio State University, the University of Texas, and the University of Wisconsin. He then went to the University of Chicago as professor of American history (1923). Three years later he became dean of the College of Arts, Literature, and Science, which position he held for nine years. The remainder of his career was devoted mainly to administrative duties as dean of the College at Chicago University (to 1935); president of West Virginia University (1935-38); and chancellor of the University of Nebraska (1938-1946). Retiring from the chancellorship of Nebraska University in 1946 because of ill health, he resumed teaching the next year, and for five years he was Abraham Lincoln lecturer in American civilization at Knox College. In 1952 he retired from teaching and devoted the remainder of his life to writing and lecturing.

It was as an administrator that Dr. Boucher scored his most conspicuous achievements. He took the initial steps in the reorganization of the courses of

study at Chicago. His suggestions, strongly supported by President Hutchins, were embodied in the Chicago College Plan. While he was in charge at Nebraska, the building program went rapidly forward and several colleges were reorganized. His most distinctive innovation at West Virginia University was the introduction of the humanities general course, which led to the later adoption of the wider integrated studies program.

As an author, Dr. Boucher's most noted works were *The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina*, *The Chicago College Plan*, and monographs on Southern history. He was also associate editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for a few years.

Dr. Boucher was a great teacher. Since he carefully prepared himself by hard work for every class, he was effective as a lecturer. Students liked and respected him. He was a forceful and a very direct person and sometimes seemed arbitrary; but underneath, and especially to his friends, he revealed a very warm and human personality.

Herbert Putnam, who died on August 14, 1955, in his ninety-fourth year, was not a historian but, as Librarian of Congress for forty years, 1899-1939, he was responsible for many undertakings of great import "in the interest of American history and of history in America," and he is entitled to the profound gratitude of generations of scholars. A member of the American Historical Association for more than forty years, he served on its Executive Council and on committees and contributed in his own person to the distinction of its Washington meetings.

He was born in New York City, September 20, 1861, a son of George Palmer Putnam, the publisher, and a younger brother of the late Ruth Putnam, historian of the Netherlands. He graduated from Harvard in 1883 and, except for brief practice of law, devoted his entire career to the profession of librarianship achieving a primacy which was recognized throughout the world. He became Librarian of Congress in 1899 after having served, in inverse order, as librarian of the Boston and Minneapolis public libraries, and of the Minneapolis Athenaeum.

At the Washington meeting of the American Historical Association in 1901 he announced his ambitious and far seeing, but realistic, program in a paper, "The Relation of the National Library to Historical Research in the United States" (American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1901, I, 113-29). The realization of his program far beyond even the hopes of 1901 is evidenced by the vast and rapidly increasing resources of the Library of Congress in mid-century, such as, for example, the unrivaled accumulations of the Division of Manuscripts, including copies of millions of pages of American materials in foreign archives and libraries, the great collections of Orientalia and Slavic materials, of rare books and incunabula and of music and American folk song, the Hispanic-American Foundation, and the Union Catalogue, the greatest bibliographical tool in existence.

To assure all these services to history Herbert Putnam exercised far more than

administrative responsibility; he was imaginative and bold in planning, zealous in promotion and execution, and successful in arousing the enthusiastic generosity of foundations, men and women of wealth, and even of Congress. And he was able to draw into his "faculty" distinguished and devoted scholars whom he inspired as he was inspired by them and whose plans and work he vigorously supported.

Minnie Mason Beebe, professor emeritus of history in Syracuse University, died on August 15, 1955, at the age of eighty-nine. In 1900 she received her Ph.D. from the University of Zurich and for the next thirty-seven years she taught at Syracuse. Her special field of interest was ancient history.

Russell J. Ferguson, head of the history department in the University of Pittsburgh, died August 20, 1955, at the age of fifty-seven. Dr. Ferguson received his Ph.D. at the University of Indiana, and joined the history staff at the University of Pittsburgh in 1925, where he remained until his death. He was appointed acting head of the department in 1954 and became head in 1955. Dr. Ferguson was the author of a volume *Early Western Pennsylvania Politics* (1938). He had done extensive work in the field of American political and economic history, and particularly in the business and industrial history of western Pennsylvania and had directed scores of students in their graduate studies (masters and doctors) in this area of research. At the time of his death, more than a dozen candidates for advanced degrees were working under his direction.

Franklin F. Holbrook, director of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, died August 20, 1955, at the age of seventy-two. Mr. Holbrook had served as director and editor of the Minnesota War Records Commission, and was the author of a two-volume history, *Minnesota in the War with Germany* (1924). In 1931 he became curator of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey, and at the time of his death was serving as editor of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* and librarian for the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

Shirley Farr, a member of the American Historical Association since 1907, died August 24 at the age of seventy-four. She was an assistant editor of the *Review* under J. Franklin Jameson, a consultant in history at the University of Chicago, 1929-1934, and a member of the Vermont house of representatives, 1945-1947.

Harry Alonzo Cushing, retired lawyer and historian, died September 6, 1955, just before his eighty-fifth birthday. One-time professor of law and history at Columbia University, he was the author of *The History of the Transition from Provincial to Commonwealth Government in Massachusetts* (1896) and editor of the works of Samuel Adams. He was a member of the American Historical Association from 1895 to 1933.

Whitney R. Cross, assistant professor of history at West Virginia University, died September 22, 1955, at the age of forty-two. Dr. Cross received his Ph.D. in American history from Harvard University in 1945. He was curator of the regional history collection at Cornell University, 1942-1945, and taught at Connecticut College and at Smith College before going to West Virginia, in 1949. His *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* was published in 1950.

Herbert Anthony Kellar, co-ordinator of the McCormick Collection of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Madison, died suddenly on October 8, 1955. Born in Nebraska in 1887 but reared in Illinois, he attended the University of Chicago and did graduate work in history at Stanford and at Wisconsin. Although he taught history, mostly medieval, at Wisconsin, Texas, and Minnesota, his career was mainly concerned with the great McCormick Historical Collection, which he built up from 1915 on as director of the McCormick Historical Association in Chicago. It was fitting that, when the collection was acquired by the Wisconsin society in 1951, he went along with it. Kellar's main interest was in promoting the preservation, control, and use of all sorts of materials appropriate for research in American history, and he worked to those ends with institutions, committees, and individuals throughout the United States; countless were the plans for projects that flowed from his typewriter, usually worked out in great detail. He served as director of an Experimental Division of Library Cooperation of the Library of Congress, 1941-1942, and submitted an elaborate report. He became a member of the American Historical Association in 1909; he was president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in 1946-1947; and he belonged to and usually attended the meetings of many other national, regional, local, and special organizations in historical and related fields. His many friends will miss his helpful guidance and genial personality at these meetings. Among his major contributions were his "Preliminary Survey of the More Important Archives of the Territory and State of Minnesota" for the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association, published in its *Annual Report* for 1914; his editing of *Selected Writings of Solon Robinson, Pioneer and Agriculturalist*, published in 1936 as Volumes XXI and XXII of the *Indiana Historical Collections*; and his assembling of data for and organizing in 1940 "Emergency Want Lists" of European materials for reproduction for use in American repositories.

It was with deep regret that his friends and colleagues learned of the death of William Spence Robertson, professor emeritus and former head of the department of history of the University of Illinois, on October 24, 1955, at the age of eighty-three. Professor Robertson was born October 7, 1872, at Glasgow, Scotland, and came with his family to the United States in 1880. He was graduated in 1899 from the University of Wisconsin and in 1900 received his master's degree there. The doctor of philosophy degree was awarded by Yale University in 1903.

For six years, from 1903 to 1909, he was instructor and assistant professor of history at Western Reserve University. He taught at the University of Indiana briefly in 1909 and in the same year joined the faculty of the University of Illinois as assistant professor of history. He became professor in 1920 and head of the department upon the death of L. M. Larson in 1937. He had been professor emeritus since 1941.

In 1907 Professor Robertson, for his volume on *Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America*, won the American Historical Association's Herbert Baxter Adams Prize in European history. In 1916 he went as a delegate to the Hispanic American Conference on History at Buenos Aires and made an extensive tour of the South American continent, purchasing thousands of volumes of Latin-American sources for the university library. Taking advantage of his sabbatical leaves, he traveled and studied in Spain, Portugal, England, France, Austria, Mexico, and South America, ever on the search for materials dealing with the great revolutionaries of Latin America. By a remarkable piece of deductive detective work he traced the Miranda papers to the library of Earl Bathurst at Cirencester, England, and he was the first scholar to use this extraordinary collection.

Professor Robertson's writings include articles on the Monroe Doctrine, the diplomatic relations between the United States and Latin America, and European intervention in Latin America. He was a contributor to the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and to the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*. He was the author of *The Rise of Spanish-American Republics* (1918); *The History of Latin American Nations* (1922); *Hispanic-American Relations with the United States* (1923); *The Life of Miranda* (1929); *France and Latin-American Independence* (1939); and *Iturbide of Mexico* (1952). He edited the *Diary of Francisco de Miranda* (1928) and translated Ricardo de Levene's *Lecciones de Historia Argentina* (1937). Many of his books have been translated into Spanish.

Professor Robertson was a corresponding member of the National Academy of History of Venezuela and an honorary member of the National Academy of History of Colombia and the Junta de historia y numismatica de America. He was an active member of the American Historical Association, the Hispanic Society of America, Phi Beta Kappa, Sigma Delta Pi, and Phi Kappa Phi. He was decorated with the Order of Liberators of Venezuela and was awarded the Mitre medal by the Hispanic Society of America. He served as advisory editor of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*.

Always an avid purchaser of books, Professor Robertson accumulated a private library of some nine thousand items. Several years before his death he gave this extremely valuable collection of rare titles to the library of the University of Illinois, where it remains a fitting memorial to his scholarship and zeal for learning.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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Chartered by Congress in 1889

Principal Office

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MEMBERSHIP: Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. Present membership ca. 6000.

MEETINGS: An annual meeting with a three-day program is held in the last days of each year. Election of officers is by ballot of the membership.

The Association maintains close relations with the state and local historical societies through conferences at the annual meetings. The Pacific Coast Branch holds meetings in December on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

PUBLICATIONS: In addition to the *Annual Report*, the Association publishes from time to time out of special funds important documentary collections in American political and legal history. Its official organ is the *American Historical Review*, published quarterly and sent to all members. It appoints a proportion of the members of the board of editors of *Social Education*, a journal on the social studies for secondary-school teachers.

PRIZES: The *Albert J. Beveridge Award*, given annually for the best manuscript in the history of the Western Hemisphere, has a cash value of \$1,000 and assurance of publication. Address inquiries to Professor John Tate Lanning, Department of History, Duke University, Durham, N. C.

The *Watumull Prize* of \$500, awarded biennially for a work on the history of India originally published in the United States (next award: December, 1956).

The *George Louis Beer Prize* of about \$200, awarded annually for a work upon any phase of European international history since 1895.

The *John H. Dunning Prize* of about \$140, awarded in the even-numbered years for a monograph on any subject relating to American history.

The *Herbert B. Adams Prize* of \$200, awarded in the even-numbered years for a work in the field of European history.

DUES: There is no initiation fee. Annual dues are \$7.50, students \$4.00. Life membership is \$150. All members receive the *American Historical Review* and the program of the annual meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Secretary at the Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington 25, D. C.

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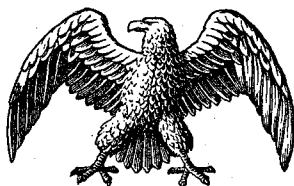
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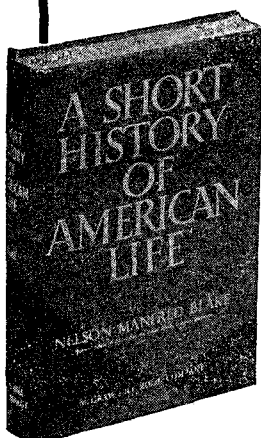
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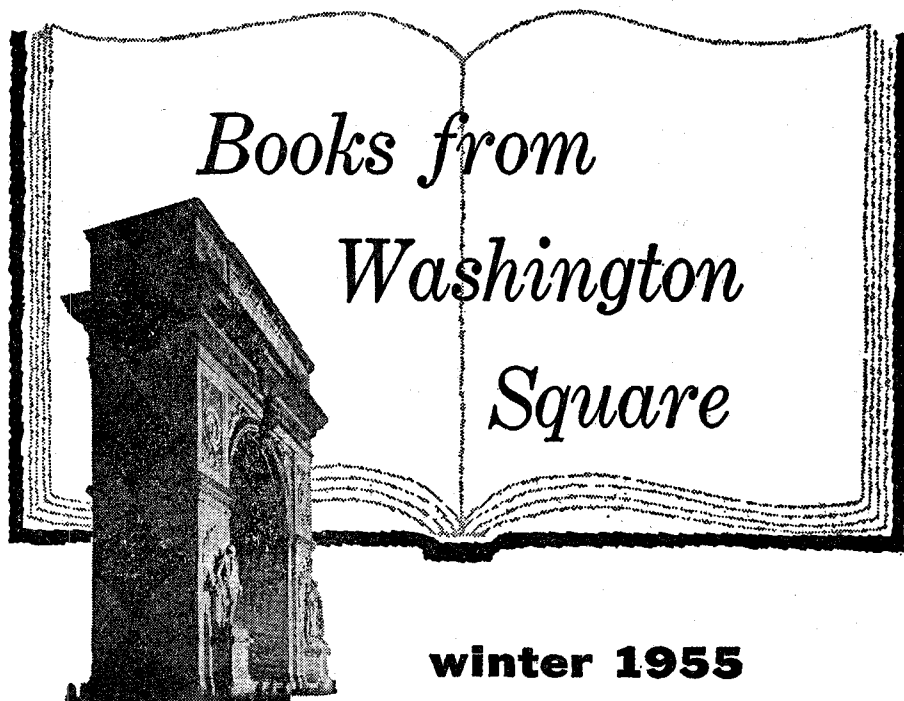
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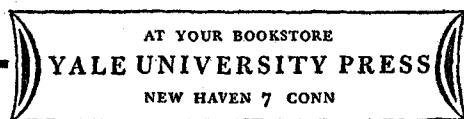
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<i>Pinson</i> , MODERN GERMANY, by Chester V. Easum	398
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<i>Morlan</i> , POLITICAL PRAIRIE FIRE, by Louis G. Geiger	424
<i>Thorelli</i> , THE FEDERAL ANTITRUST POLICY, by Russel B. Nye	425
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